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SOME CHARACTERISTICS OF PROGRESSIVE FARMERS IN THE NETHERLANDS*

by A. W. van den Ban†

ABSTRACT

This paper summarizes the findings of several investigations in the Netherlands of factors related to the adoption of improved farm practices and the general progressiveness of farmers.

In many respects, the socio-economic characteristics differentiating more and less progressive farmers are the same as in the United States. The education of the farmer and his membership in farm organizations and cooperatives were related to his progressiveness even when other factors were held constant. The farmer's general style of living was also so related.

It appears that the progressive farmer in the Netherlands not only quickly adopts modern farm practices, but that in many respects he is also a more "modern" type of individual. The hypothesis is stated that his frame of reference is better adapted to present circumstances than that of the less progressive farmer, whose frame of reference is more or less out of date, and that the backward farmer has feelings of inferiority, suspicion, and distrust which prevent him from adopting a more functional frame of reference.

Progress in agriculture depends to a large extent on the adoption of better farm practices by farmers. Experience indicates, however, when improved practices are developed by research stations or farmer innovators, that the new practices are not immediately adopted by all farmers. Considerable resistance often must be overcome before general adoption of an improved practice can take place. In order to decrease the time lag between the discovery and general adoption of new practices, there is need for a better understanding of farmer resistance. One way to gain this understanding is to compare the more progressive and the less progressive farmers as to socio-economic and psychological characteristics, and to search for the explanation of the differences.

Considerable research of this type

has been done in the United States.¹ The present paper summarizes the findings of several investigations of this kind carried out in the Netherlands, where the cultural pattern is very different. The studies have been done since 1952 by van den Ban, Germing, Kneppelhout, and Overeem, under the leadership of E. W. Hofstee.²

¹ Summaries of this research are given by C. P. Loomis and J. A. Beegle, *Rural Social Systems* (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1950), chap. 20; in a report of a subcommittee of the Rural Sociological Society, *Sociological Research on the Diffusion and Adoption of New Farm Practices*, RS-2, Dept. of Rural Sociology, University of Kentucky (Lexington, 1952); and by M. C. Wilson and Gladys Gallup, *Extension Teaching Methods and Other Factors That Influence Adoption of Agricultural and Home Economics Practices*, USDA Ext. Serv. Circ. 495 (Washington, D. C., 1955), pp. 22-26.

² A. W. van den Ban, "Who Are Influenced by the Agricultural Extension Service?," *Landbouwkundig Tijdschrift* (1953; in Dutch, with a summary in English), pp. 314-317; G. H. Germing, "Some Socio-Economic Aspects of Fruit Growing in Lienden (Betuwe)," (unpublished Master's thesis, Agricultural University of Wageningen, 1953; in Dutch); W. J. Kneppelhout, "Some

[footnote continued on next page]

*The writer wishes to express his appreciation to James E. Montgomery for his help in preparing this paper.

†Ministry of Agriculture, The Netherlands, and Department of Rural Sociology, Agricultural University of Wageningen, The Netherlands.

DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

These investigations and the present paper relate to—but do directly test—the general hypothesis that the frames of reference of farmers materially affect the extent to which they adopt improved farming practices or become “progressive.” The data do not go beyond indicating some of the correlates of “progressivism,” or the factors which differentiate progressive farmers from the less progressive ones, but they are suggestive of further hypotheses concerning farmers’ frames of reference.

In these Netherlands studies three measures of “progressivism” were used, in various combinations in the several studies: (1) Locally well-acquainted persons were asked to rate farmers on their farm managerial ability. These persons were instructed not to rate the quality of the farm but only the managing capacities of the farmer. Usually the rating for a given community was done by the county extension agent, but sometimes by prominent farmers or others. There appeared to be no differences which could be attributed to the occupation of the person who did the rating. (2) In most of the studies, a schedule was used to learn from the farmers how many modern practices they had adopted. The researchers considered as “modern” those practices advised by the Extension Service. A difficulty with this measure is that the number of farm practices which can be applied depends on the conditions peculiar to a given farm.

Aspects of Farm Management in Winterswijk” (unpublished Master’s thesis, Agricultural University of Wageningen, 1953; in Dutch); A. Overeem, “A Valuation of the Farmers in De Beemster” (unpublished Master’s thesis, Agricultural University of Wageningen, 1953; in Dutch); and A. W. van den Ban, *Enkele kenmerken en eigenschappen van de vooruitstrevende boeren I en II*, *Bulls.* No. 5 and 10, Dept. of Rural Sociology, Agricultural University of Wageningen (The Netherlands, 1956 and 1958, in Dutch).

(3) Farmers were asked whether they had been in personal contact with the county agent during the past year. In two studies, however, this information was not gathered by interviewing the farmers, but by interviewing the agent.

In general, it was found that each of the three measures identified the same group of farmers as more progressive. In future research it may be desirable to combine them into a single index, or to use only one.

This paper is based on five different studies. In four exploratory studies, a community which was convenient to the research worker was studied. Then twenty-one additional communities, considered to be more or less representative of the whole country, were studied. The 25 communities are probably somewhat more progressive than is the country as a whole, however. Very few communities near urban centers were chosen, and there is some reason to believe that the farmers in urbanized areas are less progressive than those in more rural districts.

In all, the five studies included 5,429 farmers in the 25 communities. Ratings were obtained for 5,138 farmers in 21 communities. Contact with the county agent was studied for 2,813 farmers in 24 communities. Field schedules were taken from 2,400 farmers chosen at random from 22 communities. Acceptance of improved practices was studied for 2,005 farmers in 18 communities. Thus, the data summarized in Table 1 are for varying numbers of farmers and varying numbers of communities.

Many of the data were obtained from a survey of social participation by farmers, made by E. Abma;³ this made it possible to work with more cases than would otherwise have been feasible.

³ This research was the basis for Abma’s publication, *Farmers’ Attitudes Towards Cooperatives*, *Bull.* No. 4, Dept. of Rural Sociology, Agricultural University of Wageningen (The Netherlands, 1956).

sible. Additional information was obtained from the census reports of individual farmers, membership lists of farmers' organizations and cooperatives, and persons acquainted with farmers in the sample. In securing the ratings of farmers, the effort was to have all farmers in each community rated. However, the county agent or other raters could seldom rate everyone; in most communities, from 5 to 10 per cent of the farmers were excluded for lack of a rating. When more than 20 per cent of the farmers in a community could not be rated, the community was not included in the analysis. For various reasons, several other factors could not be studied in all communities. In several communities where there were too few part-time farmers, the comparison of these with full-time farmers was not made. Part-time farmers were excluded in all communities in making the comparisons on other variables; they are not included in the numbers of cases mentioned above, nor in Table 1, after the first line.

In the rating of farmers as to managerial ability, a five-position scale was used. Groups of farmers are compared on the basis of the arithmetic means of their rating scores.

ASSOCIATION OF SINGLE VARIABLES

As Table 1 indicates, part-time farmers did not appear so progressive as full-time farmers. In only one community were the part-time farmers rated higher, and in none of those for which data are available had they accepted more practices, on the average, than had full-time farmers. One reason is that the part-time farmers have smaller farms. However, the main reason appears to be that part-time farmers have neither the time nor the interest to give their undivided attention to farming and to the improved practices that are developed.

In this and many other respects, the findings are approximately the same as those for the United States. The progressive farmers are on the larger farms, are better educated, are members of farmers' organizations and cooperatives, and their families have a modern style of living. In general, they have a higher social status. In China⁴ as well as the United States and the Netherlands, there are indications that a modern style of living is correlated with modern farming; this may be the case all over the world.

In the Netherlands, the young farmers are more progressive than the older ones, a situation that does not always hold in the United States. On the other hand, in the United States the owners are more progressive than the tenants, which is not the case in the Netherlands. The latter difference may be due to the fact that the variation in social status between owners and tenants is much smaller in the Netherlands than in the United States.

The church is a very important factor in Dutch social life,⁵ but in these investigations it was not shown to be related to farm management. There is some basis for believing that Roman Catholic farmers have less contact with the county agent than other religious groups, in communities that are heterogeneous as to the religious affiliation of farmers. But, in completely Roman Catholic districts, the Extension Service seems to exert considerable influence. There, as a rule, one finds a more intensive cooperation between the clergy, the farmers' organizations, the agricultural schools, and the Extension Service than in other parts of the country.

⁴ Hsin-pao Yang, *Fact Finding with Rural People* (Rome: United Nations, FAO, 1955), p. 19.

⁵ See Ivan Gadourek, *A Dutch Community* (Leiden: Stenfort Kroese, 1956), p. 487.

TABLE 1. NUMBER OF COMMUNITIES WHERE FARMERS OF SPECIFIED CHARACTERISTICS WERE IDENTIFIED AS MORE PROGRESSIVE, LESS PROGRESSIVE, OR NO DIFFERENT FROM OTHER FARMERS, ON THREE MEASURES OF PROGRESSIVENESS

Characteristic or type of farmer	Measure of progressiveness											
	Rating by judges				Number practices accepted				Contact with county agent			
	More	Same	Less	All	More	Same	Less	All	More	Same	Less	All
Part-time farmers	1	1	12	**14	0	0	15	**15	15	0	6	21
Those with large farms	18	1	2	**21	18	0	0	**18	4	0	1	5
Those with arable farms	5	1	0	6	3	0	0	3	13	1	2	**16
Young farmers	13	1	0	14	8	0	2	10	17	0	0	17
Tenants	5	0	2	7	2	0	1	3	20	0	0	**20
Those with vocational agriculture training	20	0	1	**21	19	0	2	**21	21	0	3	**24
Those who attended agricultural schools	8	0	2	10	6	0	3	9	6	1	5	12
Those with good general education ¹	7	0	3	10	9	0	0	**9	11	0	2	**13
Those born outside the community	12	0	5	17	8	1	8	17	17	0	0	17
Members of farmers' organizations	18	0	1	**19	16	0	0	**16	20	0	0	**20
Members of extension clubs	11	1	0	**12	9	0	0	**9	10	0	0	**10
Members of a dairy cattle herd book association	13	0	0	**13	15	0	0	**15	8	1	1	**10
Members or patrons of cooperatives ⁴	37	0	6	**43	32	0	2	**34	34	2	8	**44
Formal leaders	19	0	2	**21	19	0	0	**19	19	1	3	**23
Leaders in church or local government	11	0	3	14	12	0	0	**12	14	0	1	**15
Those whose wives belong to Associated Country Women	8	0	2	10	8	0	0	**8	8	1	0	**9
Those with a modern style of living ⁵	11	0	0	**11	10	0	0	**10	13	0	0	**13
Members of Christian Reformed Church	4	3	4	11	1	1	4	6	5	0	4	9
Members of Dutch Reformed Church	5	3	4	12	2	3	4	9	3	1	9	13
Members of Roman Catholic Church	3	0	3	6	3	0	0	3	0	1	6	**7
Members of liberal Protestant churches	2	0	3	5	0	0	2	2	6	1	2	9
Those not members of a church	3	0	2	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

*Difference significant at the 5-per-cent level, according to the sign test.

**Difference significant at the 1-per-cent level, according to the sign test.

¹ Compared with those who attended only agricultural courses. In The Netherlands, vocational training in agriculture is given in evening courses and in agricultural schools; the latter way is considered better, but it is more time consuming. Vocational training in agriculture is not given in the high schools.

² In high schools or in courses in general education.

³ Cattle breeding was not one of the practices studied.

⁴ Different types, such as buying and selling cooperatives, cooperative dairies, and cooperative sugar factories were studied. In most communities, more than one cooperative was studied, and members of each one were compared with nonmembers. Thus, many communities are counted two or more times here.

⁵ A scale was used to measure style of living. The scale was made up of factors somewhat similar to those of the Sowell Socioeconomic Status Scale, but the weights were subjectively determined. Social participation and education, which are among the components of the Sowell scale, are not in the present scale.

INTERRELATION OF VARIABLES AND EFFECT OF HOLDING CERTAIN FACTORS CONSTANT

One of the difficulties in attempting to explain these factors and relationships is that there is an interrelationship between farm size and farmers' education, their membership in farmers' organizations and cooperatives, and their style of living. Also, there is an interrelationship between the age of the farmer and all of these factors, except farm size.

Three-way tables and the matching of frequency distributions were used as means of holding one variable constant while examining the relationship of others. Kneppelhout worked with three-way tables for one community where more than a thousand farmers were ranked by the county agent. From the summary of his results that follows, it can be observed that the education of the farmers was found to be the most important factor in relation to their progressiveness:

<i>Factors studied together</i>	<i>Important factors</i>
Education, membership in farmers' organizations, and membership in cooperatives	Education
Size of farm, education, and membership in farmers' organizations	Education and membership in farmers' organizations
Age, education, and membership in farmers' organizations	Education and membership in farmers' organizations

In the study of 21 communities, analysis with three-way tables could not be employed because in several communities there were only about 100 farmers in the sample. Moreover, observations made in the various communities could not be added because of certain variations in the evaluation of the farmers. Not all county agents gave the same rank to farmers whose level of farming was quite similar;

and the number of farm practices that could be adopted was affected by local conditions as well as by personal characteristics of the farmers. For these reasons, reliance had to be placed upon the matching of frequency distributions.*

In the first five communities studied in this way, size of farm was found to be no longer related to progressiveness, when education and membership in farmers' organizations were held constant. Membership in farmers' organizations was still related, when size of farm, education, and membership in buying and selling cooperatives were kept constant. Education and membership in buying and selling cooperatives were also related when other factors were controlled. In these communities, a scale to measure style of living was not employed.

At a later stage of this research in 12 other communities, the style of living was also held constant. Then almost none of the factors had any significant influence on the progressiveness of the farmers, with the important exception of the style of living itself. But this factor had a significant influence only on the application of modern practices and contact with the county agent; it was not significantly related to the ratings of farmers. These results suggest that not one factor separately but a combination of factors make the difference between a modern and a backward farmer. Hofstee described the modern farmer—in contrast to the backward one—as follows:

A modern farmer is a man who thinks differently, feels differently, has another position towards life, and desires something else from that life He is not

* See F. Stuart Chapin, *Experimental Designs in Sociological Research* (revised; New York: Harper & Bros., 1955), chap. 3; and R. König, *Beobachtung und Experiment in der Sozialforschung* (Köln, Verlag für Politik und Wirtschaft, 1956), pp. 171-259.

a man who has learned modern farming by accident or vocational training, but he is a modern man.⁷

TENTATIVE CONCLUSIONS AND ADDITIONAL HYPOTHESES

From the foregoing, it is obvious that, when one wishes to understand why some Netherlands farmers are more progressive than others, he must study the causes which underlie the inter-relationship of size of farm, education, membership in farmers' organizations and cooperatives, age, and a modern way of farming. It seems tenable to say that there is a difference in the frame of reference of the farmers, a difference which transcends all these factors.⁸ The *frame of reference* of a group can be defined as the culture or subculture of this group, when seen from the point of view of the way in which this culture influences how one acquires, interprets, assimilates, and reacts to certain experiences.⁹ A person's frame of reference can be thought of as the images he has of the world in which he is living. To these images he relates all his experiences. So frame of reference is only a short notation for a very complex and not yet completely understood aspect of culture.

The frame of reference of the backward farmers seems to be not completely in harmony with the real world

of our time. Parts of it are still adapted to the world of 50 or 100 years ago. These farmers see society as mainly static and not as a dynamic organism which requires continuous adaption. They are little interested in what is happening off their own farm and outside their own village, or in the influence that the larger society has on their life. Thus, because they cannot understand the changes in society, these changes seem threatening to them and the difficulties of adapting their frame of reference to the changing society increase.

Up to now, why some groups of farmers have been more able to adapt their frame of reference to the circumstances of the present time than other groups has remained unexplained. That young farmers have had a better opportunity than older ones to develop a modern frame of reference is not difficult to understand. The younger farmer has reached maturity in a more dynamic period. That education is an important way of changing a frame of reference is also well known. It is difficult to understand, however, why size of farm has such a high correlation with progressiveness of farming. In this connection, it is important to note that the economic and social position of small farmers in The Netherlands has declined a good deal relative to the position of the laborer. Fifty years ago nearly every laborer in the villages hoped to be a small farmer at some time, but now some small farmers prefer to be laborers. Some small farmers feel declassed. They have little self-confidence and seem to nourish some feelings of inferiority, suspicion, and distrust toward the leaders of society. In part, these feelings may be due to the fact that small farmers have never played an important role in the management of society in the community council, the churches, or the farmers' organizations. In addition, small farmers, because of their lack of money,

⁷ *Sociologische Aspecten van de Landbouwworlichting*, Bull. No. 1, Dept. of Rural Sociology, Agricultural University of Wageningen (The Netherlands, 1953, in Dutch), p. 25.

⁸ As far as the author knows, the concept *frame of reference* was first used in this context by A. J. Wichers, *De beoefening van de bloemisterij en groenteteelt in Beesd*, Bull. No. 3, Dept. of Rural Sociology, Agricultural University of Wageningen (The Netherlands, 1956). Also, cf. Theodore M. Newcomb, *Social Psychology* (New York: The Dryden Press, 1950), esp. chaps. 6 and 7.

⁹ E. W. Hofstee, *Inleiding tot de Sociale Wetenschappen* (Dept. of Rural Sociology, Agricultural University of Wageningen, 1955; mimeo.), p. 66 (in Dutch).

have often had to live quite soberly, which has made it difficult for them to have experiences in the larger society and to participate in urban life. Wider social participation of this kind is usually correlated with modern farming.

These feelings and conditions may also be related to failure to join farmers' organizations and cooperatives. A member of these organizations and cooperatives must trust that the board of the organization will handle his own interests better than he himself would be able to do. Such an attitude is often difficult for a farmer with feelings of personal inferiority, and of suspicion and distrust of the leaders of society. Usually he does not think that he will be able to influence the acts of the leaders of an organization.

Whenever a social change occurs, self-confident persons who trust the leaders of society will ask themselves how they can adapt to the change in order to get the greatest gain from it. Persons with the attitudes of many small farmers and of nonmembers of farmers' organizations and cooperatives will not act in this way, but instead will ask how they can defend themselves against the change. Thus, they find it very difficult to assimilate the changes of society into a modern frame of reference.

A basis for this theory can be found in the research of Cottam and Mangus in Ohio.¹⁰ They found that families with a low level of living and those with a low social participation score were often dissatisfied with their social environment and also that farmers with a low level of living often have a low social participation score.

This theory can explain why size of farm is not correlated with modern farming when certain other factors are held constant. It is not the size of the

farm *per se* which is important in this relationship, but the farmer's way of thinking. This way of thinking is not necessarily related to the size of the farm, especially in the Netherlands where a serious shortage of land often makes it impossible for a capable small farmer to increase the size of his farm. Instead, it is more often related to membership in farmers' organizations and cooperatives, because everybody is free to be or not to be a member of these organizations. It is also correlated with the education of the farmer, partly because the farmer was free to take vocational training in agriculture or his parents were free to let him do so, partly because this training has changed the frame of reference of the farmer.

Formal leaders naturally do not have marked feelings of inferiority, nor are they suspicious or distrusting of leaders of society. This may account for the fact that they are always quite clearly progressive farmers. For the United States, the hypothesis was stated that: "Leaders in secular organizations are among the first to accept innovations in farm matters while leaders in organizations and institutions of social sanction (church, government, etc.) do not accept such innovations before non-leaders."¹¹ Such a hypothesis could not be supported in the present theory, because there is reason to believe that leaders of church and government do not have so pronounced feelings of inferiority and are not so suspicious of leaders of society as non-leaders. Although this hypothesis must be rejected for The Netherlands (see Table 1), it may be noted that leaders in church and government are less progressive than other formal leaders, according to the rating of the farmers. This can not be related to, or explained by, this theory.

¹⁰ H. R. Cottam and A. R. Mangus, "Standard of Living: An Empirical Test of a Definition," *Rural Sociology*, VII:4 (Dec., 1942), pp. 395-403.

¹¹ *Sociological Research on the Diffusion and Adoption of New Farm Practices*, op. cit., p. 5.

A high score on style of living usually seems to be a rather good indication that the farmer has a modern frame of reference. In the construction of a style-of-living scale, attention was paid to those questions which were thought to indicate a modern frame of reference. Besides, there is reason to believe that a low score is correlated with a low socio-economic status,¹² and it seems probable that lower-class people more often have feelings of inferiority and suspicion than people of other classes. Thus, the style-of-living score has a significant correlation with the progressiveness of farmers when other factors are kept constant.

¹² See Loomis and Beegle, *op. cit.*, p. 358; and A. K. Constandse, "De Sociale Hierarchie in Kamerik," *Mens en Maatschappij*, XXIX, 1954, pp. 293 and 342 (in Dutch).

Since the above interpretations can only be suggested and the available data do not make it possible to test their validity, the following may be stated as hypotheses for further research:

1. There is a difference in the frame of reference of the more progressive and the less progressive farmers. The frame of reference of the progressive farmers is fairly well adapted to the present-day world, but that of the more backward farmers is in some respects still adapted to the circumstances of several decades ago.
2. More of the less progressive farmers than of the more progressive ones have feelings of inferiority, and of suspicion and distrust toward the leaders of their society.

CONTACTS WITH AND CONCEPTION OF THE PHYSICIAN IN A RURAL SETTING*

by Robert L. McNamara and Edward Hassinger†

ABSTRACT

To secure data on public-physician relations, interviews were conducted in 152 households selected randomly from the open-country population of an Ozark county in Missouri.

The people and their physicians were separated by considerable geographical and social distance. Households varied widely in number of professional contacts with doctors. Few contacts were in the patients' homes.

Most likely to report having a family doctor were younger households with three or more members. Least likely to report a family doctor were older households with a low level-of-living score.

Households were classified as primary, secondary, or alienated in orientation toward physicians. There was a relationship between reporting a family doctor and type of orientation. This was more apparent in the older households than in the younger ones. The alienated orientation was concentrated in the older households with a low level of living. This was interpreted as an indication of failure to adjust to changing conditions in public-physician relations.

STUDY DESIGN AND SAMPLE

During the fall of 1955, research was undertaken in a south-central Missouri county in order to assess practice and opinions in rural health. One phase of the research was concerned with the relationship between physicians and public, and the consequence that this had in rural health practices and opinions.¹

The county selected for this research was in the area generally referred to as the Ozarks. It is one of the core-area counties in a particular social area, as delineated for the state of Missouri in previous research at the Missouri Agricultural Experiment Station. A core-area county is a clear-cut example of the social area of which it is a part,

and the selection of such a county offers two principal advantages: (1) it permits tentative generalization from the county to the area; and (2) detailed information is available for the delineated area and can be used as background in analysis and interpretation. This is especially valuable in comparing counties in various parts of the state, which is a part of the overall design of the present study but not a part of this report.

The sample consisted of every eighteenth household in the open-country, randomly selected. Systematic provisions were made for unoccupied dwellings. In each of the 152 sample households, an adult member was interviewed. There were no refusals, but two families selected could not be located.

FRAME OF REFERENCE

In the rural community, the most visible person in health care is the physician; and it is reasonable that the researcher's attention be directed toward him. The facilities that the physician has, his training, and his sense of duty are important factors in main-

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†University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo.

¹For a more detailed report, see Edward W. Hassinger and Robert L. McNamara, *Relationships of the Public to Physicians in a Rural Setting*, University of Missouri AES Research Bull. 653 (Columbia, Jan., 1958).

taining health in the community. Also important, and not wholly unrelated, are the kinds of contacts the physician has with the public. Doctor-patient relations have been studied and discussed,² and doctors have commented on relationships with the people of their communities in numerous reminiscences.³ It is more rare to find accounts of physician-public relationships from the public's point of view.⁴ However, contacts with physicians and the conception of those contacts are part of the health behavior of the community. These relationships, which are of consequence to family and community health, are the subject of this report.

While relations with the physician are only a small portion of the total interaction pattern of a community, the physician himself occupies a special place. His professional role is of critical importance, and his work is quite visible. The status position which he occupies tends to set him apart from egalitarian interaction with the rank and file, but in the personal world of rural society his activities do not go unreported. The physician, as the recipient of more than his share of attention, then, constitutes an "opinion-target" in the community.

In this report, interest is centered not so much upon individual doctor-patient relations as upon the relations between the community and the physician. Because this relational pattern is of the kind outlined above, it is referred to here as the relationship between physician and public. Operationally, those interviewed constitute a sample of the public.

² J. H. Means, "Evolution of Doctor-Patient Relationship," *Bulletin of the New York Academy of Medicine*, XXIX: 9 (1953).

³ E.g., Arthur E. Hertzler, M.D., *The Horse and Buggy Doctor* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1938); and W. Scott Nay, *The Old Country Doctor* (Rutland, Vt.: The Tuttle Pub. Co., 1937).

⁴ Note that a distinction is made between patients and public.

In planning the study, two principal models of public-physician relations were conceptualized as a frame of reference. One was that of the "old" or "old-time" doctor, dating from the days of poor communication and uncertain medical technique. The "old" doctor was physically close to the people of the community and his relations with the public were personal; at the same time, his professional relations with the public often involved traumatic experiences for the latter. Personal loyalties of a primary sort were established between the doctor and the public. This kind of physician-public relationship is referred to here as *primary*.

The image of the "new" physician and his relations with the public was determined by the nature of modern medicine. The "new" physician is located where medical facilities and other doctors are concentrated. His relationship with the public is impersonal and secondary; with the patient, often routine. Instead of building faith in a personal doctor, the public may exhibit confidence in the medical profession. This type of relationship is referred to here as *secondary*.

During the field work and in the analysis, another type of public-physician relationship became apparent. This was seen in the person who exhibited attitudes of withdrawal from, or disenchantment with, physicians. This type of relationship was termed *alienated*.

CONTACTS WITH PHYSICIANS

Distance.—In the county studied, considerable distance separated the people and their physicians. Seventy-seven per cent of the sample households were 5 or more miles away from the place they would normally go for medical care, 45 per cent were more than 10 miles away, and 13 per cent were at least 20 miles distant. These were the approximate distances to the

only urban center in the county, where most of the county's physicians were located.

Social Distance.—Socially, the distance was also great. The sample households generally had a modest level of living, an educational level that seldom was above high school and more often did not exceed the eighth grade, and an income level that was not high. This contrasts sharply with the education and income levels of physicians. Presumably these different levels of attainment produce a social gulf difficult to bridge.

Professional Contacts.—During the year preceding the interviews, the 152 households (532 individuals) in the sample had 1,831 professional contacts with physicians, an average of 12.0 per household and 3.4 per individual. Presumably the impact of the physician on the households varied with the frequency and type of contact.

Location of Professional Contacts.—Physicians did not make the rounds in the county as they once had done. Home calls appeared to be restricted to emergency situations. Only 80 of the 1,831 contacts were in the patient's home; the remainder were in the doctor's office or in the hospital.

Place of contact has changed from the home to the doctor's office or the hospital; both social and geographic separation of physician and public has occurred, indicating the development of impersonal, secondary public-physician relations.

THE FAMILY DOCTOR

Respondents were asked whether they had a family doctor. The concept of "family doctor," though widely used, actually encompasses a bundle of relationships which do not mean the same thing to all people. For some it brings nostalgia for the "old country doctor." But the relationships that lead to acknowledgment of a family doctor also

have bases in the more impersonal world of today. A physician may be chosen as a family doctor quite deliberately, in order to have services available when needed. This may take on aspects of a contractual relationship.⁵ Also, acquisition of a family doctor may be a matter of circumstances. Illness leads to contacts with a physician, and, if the relationship is satisfactory to the family and the physician, it is likely to continue.

The common element in the concept *family doctor*, regardless of the basis for the relationship, is some degree of permanence maintained between the family and the physician. But even this criterion is relative; age and mobility of both client and physician, as well as decisions of a more subjective nature, account for the varying lengths of time that households report having had a family doctor. Some families reporting no family doctor had recently moved to the area, or their doctor had died or moved away. Of the 152 respondents, 105 reported a family doctor. Thirteen per cent of the latter dated the relationship back twenty years or more; for 7 per cent it had existed for less than six months.

CHARACTERISTICS OF HOUSEHOLDS REPORTING A FAMILY DOCTOR

Households with and without family doctors were compared as to age of head, number of members, income, level of living, and education of male head (Table 1). Not shown in the table but summarized briefly in the discussion which follows, are tests of relationship between reporting a family doctor and the latter four variables, with age of household head controlled. For these tests, the households were dichoto-

⁵ For instance, in Lucas County, Ohio, a public relations effort was undertaken to have each family select a family physician. See Edgar A. Schuler, Robert J. Mowitz, and Albert J. Mayer, *Medical Public Relations* (New York: Health Information Foundation, 1952), pp. 10-11.

TABLE 1. HOUSEHOLDS CLASSIFIED BY SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS AND WHETHER THEY REPORT A FAMILY DOCTOR

Household characteristics	Households reporting a family doctor	Households not reporting a family doctor
<i>Per cent</i>		
Age of head:		
Under 45.....	37.1	23.4
45-64.....	48.6	51.1
65 and over.....	14.3	25.5
	100.0	100.0
	(N = 105)	(N = 47)
	[$\chi^2 = 4.2$; d.f. = 2; not significant at 5-per-cent level.]	
Number of members:		
1-2	36.2	57.4
3-5	46.7	38.3
6 and over.....	17.1	4.3
	100.0	100.0
	(N = 105)	(N = 47)
	[$\chi^2 = 8.2$; d.f. = 2; significant at 5-per-cent level.]	
Income:		
Under \$1,000	20.0	31.9
\$1,000-\$2,999	44.8	44.7
\$3,000 and over..	35.2	23.4
	100.0	100.0
	(N = 105)	(N = 47)
	[$\chi^2 = 3.4$; d.f. = 2; not significant at 5-per-cent level.]	
Level-of-living score:		
9-13	48.6	66.0
14 and over.....	51.4	34.0
	100.0	100.0
	(N = 105)	(N = 47)
	[$\chi^2 = 3.9$; d.f. = 1; significant at 5-per-cent level.]	
Education of male head (years):		
Less than 8.....	27.4	43.2
8-11	56.9	34.1
12 or more.....	15.7	22.7
	100.0	100.0
	(N = 102)	(N = 44)
	[$\chi^2 = 4.4$; d.f. = 2; significant at 5-per-cent level. Six households had no male head.]	

mized as "younger"—those with heads under 55 years of age, and "older"—those with heads 55 years or more of age.

Age of Household Head.—There was a tendency for households reporting a family doctor to have a larger proportion of their heads in the under-45-years category and a smaller proportion in the 65-and-over category, compared with households not reporting a family doctor. While the percentage difference appeared to be substantial, it was not significant at the 5-per-cent level. The direction of the apparent relationship was of particular interest, since it has often been supposed that older people are more likely to have the kind of contacts with a physician characteristic of "family doctor" relations.

Size of Household.—There was a relationship, significant at the 5-per-cent level,⁶ between reporting a family doctor and the number of persons in the household. When age was controlled, the relationship was significant at the 1-per-cent level for younger households but did not hold for older households. The older households were generally small; in fact, only three had 5 or more members.

Income.—There was no significant relationship between income and reporting a family doctor, although there was a tendency for more of those with a family doctor to be in the higher income categories. When age was controlled, there was still no significant relationship.

Level of Living.—A positive and significant relationship existed between level of living⁷ and reporting a family

⁶ Hereafter, when a relationship or difference is referred to as significant, it is significant at least at the 5-per-cent level, by chi-square test.

⁷ As measured by scores on a 10-item scale of material possessions, developed at the University of Missouri.

doctor. Controlling age of head of household showed that there was not a significant relationship for younger households but that the relationship was significant and even stronger for older households.

Education of Male Head.—In households reporting a family doctor, there were smaller proportions both of male heads with very low educational attainment (under 8 years) and of those with relatively high educational attainment (12 years or more) than in households not reporting a family doctor. The differences between the two groups in pattern of educational attainment were great enough to be significant at the 5-per-cent level.

In terms of percentage differences, education appeared more closely related to reporting a family doctor for younger households than for older households (where there were virtually no male heads with a high-school education). However, the relationships were not significant for the two separate groups of households.

Combinations of Characteristics.—In order to get a better picture of the combinations of factors distinguishing households with and without family doctors, an attempt was made to isolate extreme types of households which could then be compared as to the reporting of a family doctor. The households were first grouped on the basis of the age of the head, and the extreme groups—those with heads under 45 and 65 or older—were selected out. From the group of younger households were then removed those with fewer than three members, leaving a group of younger, larger households. From the older households, those with the higher level-of-living scores were removed, leaving a group of older households with relatively low living levels.

When the two groups were compared, they were quite different in proportions reporting a family doctor. A

TABLE 2. TWO SPECIAL GROUPINGS OF HOUSEHOLDS COMPARED AS TO WHETHER THEY REPORT A FAMILY DOCTOR

Whether household reported having a family doctor	Younger, larger households	Older households with low level of living
	Per cent	
Family doctor	81.4	50.0
No family doctor. .	18.6	50.0
	100.0	100.0
	(N = 43)	(N = 20)

$\chi^2 = 6.6$; *d.f.* = 1; significant at 1-per-cent level.

family doctor was reported by over 80 per cent of the younger, larger households, but by only 50 per cent of the older households with low living levels (Table 2). Probably the latter were more isolated from community services, including those of a physician. It may be, also, that when older people lose their family doctor through his death, retirement, or migration, they do not "take up" with a new doctor as readily as do younger families. On the other hand, the selection of a family doctor by younger households may be on the basis of specific family needs, and perhaps is done quite rationally. More evidence is presented on this point subsequently. Restricting the comparison to the younger households with three or more members, as was done here, eliminated the newly married who might not have had an opportunity to establish permanent relations with a physician.

ORIENTATION TOWARD PHYSICIANS

Primary-Secondary Orientation.—The image that the public has of the physician may be a factor in relationships that lead to having a family doctor. The data available for assessing the public's orientation toward the physician were verbal responses to opinion statements about relationships with physicians. The statements were chosen to represent different degrees of

primary-secondary orientation toward physicians.

Guttman scaling techniques were applied to the data, and it was found that the four items formed a Guttman scale with a reproducibility coefficient of 90.9. The responses for three households were eliminated from the scaling because of incompleteness, and 14 households were eliminated because they had been classified as having the alienated orientation and were treated separately.

The items, in the order in which they were arranged in the scale pattern, were the following. The respondents were asked to agree or disagree with each statement.

I don't care so much about a doctor's manner with his patients as long as he is a skillful doctor.

[Rejection indicates a primary orientation.]

I don't care so much what a doctor's personal life is like as long as he is a skillful doctor.

[Rejection indicates a primary orientation.]

I think that a person should visit with the doctor about other matters than health, especially about personal and family problems.

[Acceptance indicates a primary orientation.]

I wouldn't leave a doctor for another doctor even though the other man might have more scientific knowledge.

[Acceptance indicates a primary orientation.]

The distribution of scale scores was as follows. A score of 4 indicates a primary orientation; a low score indicates a more secondary orientation.

Score	Per cent of households
4	23.0
3	37.0
2	11.9
1	13.3
0	14.8
All	100.0
	(N = 135)

No judgment is made concerning the desirability of a primary or a secondary orientation; according to circumstances, either may be quite functional.

Alienated Orientation.—The classification of households as alienated was independent of the items used to establish primary-secondary orientation, and also independent of the more objective health practices (such as having a family doctor and the number of professional contacts with physicians) and opinions on health matters (immunization, doctor charges, and others). Since provisions had not been made in the interview schedule for systematic selection of alienated households, these were identified by the interviewers on the basis of open-ended questions and informal conversation. Undoubtedly the 14 households so selected represent the extreme of this type. If this type of orientation had been anticipated and provision had been made for systematically identifying such households, perhaps more households would have been classified as alienated. In any case, however, it seems important to treat these households as a separate group in the analysis.

The most helpful question in the schedule for identifying households with an antagonistic or alienated viewpoint was, "At what point do you call a doctor for an illness in your family?" Most of the respondents would not reject physicians entirely, but some would think of them only as a last resort. One man said, however, that there was no circumstance in which he would have more confidence in a physician than in his own ability to treat an illness. This person had many home remedies. He said that some people even went to the doctor for colds, which he considered completely foolish. Other comments from those who were classified as alienated from physicians were, "We kind of lost our faith in doctors; we feel doctors keep string-

TABLE 3. HOUSEHOLDS CLASSIFIED BY ORIENTATION TOWARD PHYSICIANS AND WHETHER THEY REPORT A FAMILY DOCTOR

Orientation toward physicians	Households reporting a family doctor	Households not reporting a family doctor
	<i>Per cent</i>	
Secondary	33.3	43.2
Primary	62.9	34.1
Alienated	3.8	22.7
	100.0	100.0
	(N = 105)	(N = 44*)

$\chi^2 = 17.0$; *d.f.* = 2; significant at 0.1-per-cent level.

*Orientation not available for 3 households.

ing you along;" "Trust in the Lord and stay away from doctors;" "You'd better stay away from doctors because all they want is your money."

ORIENTATION TOWARD PHYSICIANS AND REPORTING A FAMILY DOCTOR

There was a relationship between type of orientation toward physicians and reporting a family doctor. Those judged to be alienated from the physician accounted for almost a fourth of the households not reporting a family doctor; they accounted for but 4 per cent of those having a family doctor. Almost two-thirds of those reporting a family doctor had a primary orienta-

tion toward physicians, while about one-third not reporting a family doctor had a primary orientation. The relationship between orientation and reporting a family doctor was significant at the 0.1-per-cent level (Table 3).

A most striking finding was that those households indicating an alienated orientation toward physicians were predominantly "older." Only three of the fourteen were headed by a person under 55 years of age.

The type of orientation appears to be more closely related to having a family doctor in older households than in younger households. In older households, 65 per cent reporting a family doctor had a primary orientation, while 24 per cent not reporting a family doctor had a primary orientation. The difference is statistically significant. In the younger households, 61 per cent reporting a family doctor had a primary orientation and 47 per cent of those not reporting a doctor had this orientation. This difference was not significant (Table 4).

The two "extreme" groups previously mentioned — the younger, larger households and the older households with the lower living levels — were compared as to type of orientation. While about half of each group had a primary orientation, the two groups

TABLE 4. HOUSEHOLDS CLASSIFIED BY ORIENTATION TOWARD PHYSICIANS, AGE OF HEAD, AND WHETHER THEY REPORT A FAMILY DOCTOR

Orientation toward physicians	Households with head:			
	Under 55 years of age		55 years of age or older	
	Reporting a family doctor	Not reporting a family doctor	Reporting a family doctor	Not reporting a family doctor
	<i>Per cent</i>		<i>Per cent</i>	
Secondary	37.3	42.1	28.3	44.0
Primary	61.0	47.4	65.2	24.0
Alienated	1.7	10.5	6.5	32.0
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	(N = 59)	(N = 19)	(N = 46)	(N = 25)

[Not enough cases for χ^2 -test. For secondary and primary alone: $\chi^2 = .4$; *d.f.* = 1; not significant at 5-per-cent level.]

[$\chi^2 = 11.2$; *d.f.* = 2; significant at 1-per-cent level.]

differed widely as to the proportions with secondary and alienated orientations (Table 5). Over a third of the younger, larger households had a secondary orientation, but only a tenth of the older, low-living-level group had this orientation. On the other hand, three in ten of the latter group were alienated while only one in fourteen of the younger, larger households were so classified. Forty-three per cent of the alienated households in the sample were among the 20 older, low-level households, but this latter group con-

stituted only 13 per cent of the sample. In these comparisons the small number of cases precluded testing for statistical significance.

It is perhaps not altogether surprising that so many of the households with older heads and a low level of living are in the alienated group. An adjustment to a secondary orientation does not seem likely for these households. Merton has pointed out that when goals are unobtainable one adjustment is withdrawal or "retreatism"—rejection of goals as well as the means to achieving the goals.⁸ The type of orientation termed "alienated" appears to be a reaction of this kind. If it is assumed that the primary orientation is the preferred functional orientation of these older households, the older persons—especially those in a low level-of-living bracket—may be precisely the ones who are unable to make adjustments to changing situations, and thus become alienated from physicians.

⁸ Robert K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure* (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1957), pp. 131-194, esp. pp. 153-155 for discussion of "retreatism."

TABLE 5. TWO SPECIAL GROUPINGS OF HOUSEHOLDS COMPARED AS TO ORIENTATION TOWARD PHYSICIANS

Orientation toward physicians	Younger, larger households	Older households with low level of living
	<i>Per cent</i>	
Secondary	37.2	10.0
Primary	55.8	50.0
Alienated	7.0	30.0
Not determined.....		10.0
	100.0	100.0
	(N = 43)	(N = 20)

Not enough cases for χ^2 -test.

FULL-TIME AND PART-TIME FARMERS' VALUE ORIENTATIONS TOWARD SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS

by George A. Donohue†

ABSTRACT

This study reports an analysis of the relationship between type of farming operation and attitudes toward social institutions. Seven additional independent variables are also considered in a zero-order and partial association analysis. The data were gathered in personal interviews with 167 farm operators.

The analysis indicated no significant differences between part-time and full-time farmers with respect to attitudes toward basic institutional complexes. This makes the generally held thesis that part-time farmers contribute to instability in the rural social structure appear questionable. Only the variable of education is significantly related to any of the dependent variables under conditions of partial association.

INTRODUCTION

The notion that the farm population constitutes a homogeneous entity is being increasingly challenged in the light of new research findings regarding the characteristics of urban and rural societies. The current emphasis centers upon a continuum type of analysis rather than on the simple dichotomy approach to the study of rural-urban differences.¹ At one end of the continuum, social life is characterized by a high degree of homogeneity with respect to social values and behavior, and there is much intimate personal contact; at the other end of the continuum, heterogeneity with respect to occupation, social values, personal behavior, and interest groups is commonplace. The usual hypothesis is that the physical or ecological variables, such as density of population and diversification of occupation, contribute to behavioral variations along the continuum from one extreme to the other.

The research reported here bears upon this general hypothesis, in that it compares the attitudes of part-time

and full-time farmers toward the family, law, education, and economic institutions. Part-time farmers are presumed to represent a group influenced both by the traditional values and ways of behaving in farm life and by the heterogeneity of values and diversity of behavior found in urban life, while the full-time farmers may be regarded as primarily influenced by the factors associated with the rural end of the continuum. Since the largest portion of the part-time farmer's working day is spent as a participant in the urban complex, one might expect significant differences between his attitudes toward social institutions and those of full-time farmers, especially if we assume that the nature of personal interaction is an important factor in determining values and, thus, behavior.

The hypothesis, then, is that part-time farmers tend to have a contractual, impersonal, and rational viewpoint concerning social institutions, while the attitudes of full-time farmers are determined more by custom and tradition. Such a divergence of attitudes, if demonstrated, would affect the tenability of the ideal conception of a homogeneous rural society. Moreover, as the percentage of part-time farmers in the farm population increases over the years, their presence on the rural scene will, because of their

†University of Minnesota, St. Paul, Minn.

¹For a discussion of this point of view, see S. A. Queen and D. B. Carpenter, *The American City* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1953), pp. 19-27; L. Nelson, *Rural Sociology* (New York: American Book Co., 1948), pp. 8-11.

attitudes, make for instability in the existing farm pattern. There is a trend not only for more and more of the farmers to engage in off-farm work, but also for those who work off their farms to do so for greater periods of time.² At present, more than one-fourth of the nation's farmers do some nonfarm work; in some states more than half of them have such work.

SOURCE OF DATA

The data upon which this report is based were gathered in personal interviews with 167 farm operators in Hennepin County, Minnesota, during the latter part of 1954 and the spring of 1955. The fact that Minneapolis is in Hennepin County may be considered a limitation upon the value of the comparison of full- and part-time farmers, since even the full-time farmers in this county may be influenced in part by the dominant urban ethos. However, relative differences may be expected, due to greater interaction of the part-time farmer in the day-to-day activity of urban life.

The attitude data were gathered by field administration of a modified form of the Rundquist-Sletto scale. Whenever possible, the operator completed the attitude schedule without the assistance of the interviewer. However, in a small number of cases the level of education of the operator was such that the interviewer read and/or interpreted the items to the interviewee. The schedule included ten items from each of five of the original scales; only four scales are used in this analysis—those on the family, the law, education, and economic conservatism.³ The data

on the independent variables were recorded by the interviewer on a separate schedule dealing with other aspects of part-time and full-time farming. Complete anonymity was assured the respondent, and code numbers were used to identify the corresponding schedules.⁴

SAMPLE

Farmers residing outside urban and incorporated areas in Hennepin County, Minnesota, constitute the universe from which the sample was selected. Initially a purposive selection of census tracts was made so as to exclude from the sample the immediate environs of the City of Minneapolis. The square-mile sections of land in these tracts were numbered to exclude from the sample any incorporated area, and certain sections were then selected by use of a table of random numbers. In these sections, all part-time farmers and every other full-time farmer were interviewed, in order to include approximately the same number of each.

METHOD OF ANALYSIS

The scores on the four modified Rundquist-Sletto scales constitute the dependent variables. The independent variables were selected on two criteria: (1) being related to attitudes in previous studies, and (2) being indicative of urbanization on the part of the respondent.

The major independent variable is extent of farming (part-time or full-time). A *part-time farmer* was defined as one who worked 100 or more days per year in off-farm work. A subclassification of part-time farmers was made on the basis of their long-term

correlation between the scores on the modified ten-item scales and the original scales were .89 or higher.

⁴ The current report is a partial analysis of a more comprehensive study of "Farming as an Occupation" being carried on by the Department of Rural Sociology, University of Minnesota.

² A. F. Raper, *Rural Trends: A Graphic Presentation of Rural Trends*, Extension Service and Bureau of Agricultural Economics, USDA (Washington, 1952), p. 8.

³ For an analysis of the scale construction and establishment of norms, see E. A. Rundquist and R. F. Sletto, *Personality in the Depression* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1936). The coefficients of

TABLE 1. ASSOCIATION OF INDEPENDENT VARIABLES WITH ATTITUDE TOWARD THE FAMILY

Independent variable	N ¹	Favorable	Unfavorable	X ²	P	C
		Per cent	Per cent			
1. Farming operation	162			.26	*	
Part-time	67	85	15			
Full-time	95	82	18			
2. Type of part-time farmer.....	67			.26	*	
Hobby	30	87	13			
Farming-working	22	82	18			
Expanding	15	87	13			
3. Socio-economic status.....	161			.27	*	
High	100	82	18			
Low	61	85	15			
4. Age.....	162			5.3	*	
20-39.9	43	77	23			
40-49.9	39	95	5			
50 and over.....	80	81	19			
5. Education.....	161			2.0	*	
High (11 and above).....	34	88	12			
Medium (8-10).....	104	84	16			
Low (0-7).....	23	74	26			
6. Religion	151			.12	*	
Catholic.....	48	83	17			
Protestant.....	103	85	15			

¹ Divergence from the total N of 167 results from the elimination of non-completed Rundquist-Sletto scales.

*Not significant at the .05-level.

interest in off-farm work, and the economic relationship of their off-farm work to their farming operations. The categories were: (1) "expanding farmers," made up of individuals who engaged in off-farm work as a means of building up their farms, with the intention of going to full-time farming in the future; (2) "farming-working farmers," made up of individuals who considered this combination a "way of life," and for whom both the farm and the nonfarm work were necessary contributors to their livelihood; and (3) "hobby farmers," consisting of persons of moderate to relatively high economic means, who farmed primarily as an avocation and were largely dependent upon their nonfarm source of income. The attitude orientations of these three groups were compared.

Other independent variables were: (1) religion, (2) education, (3) age,

(4) socio-economic status,⁵ (5) political affiliation, (6) union membership (for part-time farmers only), and (7) farm organization membership. The association of each dependent with each independent variable was measured by chi-square, and where the values indicated significance at the .05-level, corrected contingency coefficients (\bar{C}) were computed.

ZERO-ORDER ASSOCIATION

No significant relationships were found between any of the independent variables and attitudes toward the family (Table 1). However, the younger and older age groups expressed somewhat less favorable attitudes toward the family than did the middle-aged

⁵ As measured by the Sewell scale. See "A Short Form of the Farm Family Socio-economic Status Scale," *Rural Sociology*, VIII:2 (June, 1943), pp. 161-170.

TABLE 2. ASSOCIATION OF INDEPENDENT VARIABLES WITH ATTITUDES TOWARD LAW

Independent variables	N ¹	Favorable	Unfavorable	χ^2	P	\bar{C}
		<i>Per cent</i>	<i>Per cent</i>			
1. Farming operation	162			4.0	.05	.24
Part-time	67	76	24			
Full-time	95	61	39			
2. Type of part-time farmer	67			1.1	*	
Hobby	30	80	20			
Farming-working	22	68	32			
Expanding	15	80	20			
3. Socio-economic status	161			1.2	*	
High	98	71	29			
Low	63	62	38			
4. Age	162			5.4	*	
20-39.9	43	81	19			
40-49.9	39	64	36			
50 and over	80	61	39			
5. Education	162			8.5	.02	.33
High (11 and up)	34	88	12			
Medium (8-10)	105	62	38			
Low (0-7)	23	61	39			
6. Religion	151			.17	*	
Catholic	48	67	33			
Protestant	103	70	30			
7. Political affiliation	153			.45	*	
Republican	67	66	34			
Democratic	40	67	33			
Independent	46	72	28			
8. Union membership	67			3.2	*	
(part-time farmers only)						
Yes	25	64	36			
No	42	83	17			
9. Farm Bureau membership	161			.6	*	
Yes	45	73	27			
No	116	66	34			

¹ Divergence from the total N of 167 results from elimination of non-completed Rundquist-Sletto scales.

*Not significant at the .05-level.

group; and the proportion of favorable responses increased with educational attainment.

Two variables—education ($\bar{C} = .33$) and type of farming operation (part-time, full-time; $\bar{C} = .24$)—were significantly associated with attitude toward the law (Table 2). The “high” education group had a much greater percentage of favorable responses than the “medium” or “low” education groupings. Part-time farmers showed more favorable attitudes toward the

law than did the full-time farmers. For two other variables, there was an association which approached the .05-level of significance: union membership, where the union members were less favorably inclined; and age, where the younger age-groups tended to be much more favorable toward law than the older age-groups.

Age ($\bar{C} = .29$) and education ($\bar{C} = .32$) were significantly associated with attitudes toward the business institution (Table 3). The differences be-

TABLE 3. ASSOCIATION OF INDEPENDENT VARIABLES WITH ATTITUDES TOWARD THE ECONOMIC INSTITUTION

Independent variables	N ¹	Favorable	Unfavorable	X ²	P	\bar{C}
		Per cent	Per cent			
1. Farming operation	162			2.1	*	
Part-time	67	78	22			
Full-time	95	86	14			
2. Type of part-time farming	67			1.1	*	
Hobby	30	77	23			
Farming-working	22	73	27			
Expanding	15	87	13			
3. Socio-economic status	161			.08	*	
High	93	84	16			
Low	68	81	19			
4. Age	162			6.6	.05	.29
20-39.9	43	95	5			
40-49.9	39	79	21			
50 and over	80	78	22			
5. Education	162			8.0	.02	.32
High (11 and up)	35	97	3			
Medium (8-10)	104	81	19			
Low (0-7)	23	70	30			
6. Religion	153			.14	*	
Catholic	48	81	19			
Protestant	105	84	16			
7. Political affiliation	153			3.0	*	
Republican	67	88	12			
Democratic	40	75	25			
Independent	46	83	17			
8. Union membership	67			.72	*	
(part-time farmers only)						
Yes	25	72	28			
No	42	81	19			
9. Farm Bureau membership	161			.00	*	
Yes	45	84	16			
No	116	83	17			

¹ Divergence from the total N of 167 results from elimination of non-completed Rundquist-Sletto scales.

*Not significant at the .05-level.

tween ages was largely one between the youngest (under 40) group, who were almost unanimously favorable, and the two older age-groups, both about four-fifths favorable. The proportion of favorable responses increased steadily with education. The only other variable to approach an association significant at the .05-level was political affiliation; the Republicans and Independents responded more fa-

vorably toward existing economic practices than the Democrats.

Type of part-time farming ($\bar{C} = .47$) and education ($\bar{C} = .35$) were the only two variables significantly associated with attitudes toward education (Table 4). The percentage of responses favorable toward education increased with educational attainment. Among the part-time farmers, the "hobby" group, who rely primarily upon their nonfarm employment, were the most

TABLE 4. ASSOCIATION OF INDEPENDENT VARIABLES WITH ATTITUDES TOWARD EDUCATION

Independent variables	N ¹	Favorable	Unfavorable	N ²	P	\bar{U}
		<i>Per cent</i>	<i>Per cent</i>			
1. Farming operation	162			1.3	*	
Part-time	67	48	52			
Full-time	95	39	61			
2. Type of part-time farmer	67			7.7	.05	.47
Hobby	30	63	37			
Farming-working	22	45	55			
Expanding	15	20	80			
3. Socio-economic status	161			2.3	*	
High	98	47	53			
Low	63	35	65			
4. Age	162			.09	*	
20-39.9	43	42	58			
40-49.9	39	41	59			
50 and over	80	44	56			
5. Education	162			10.2	.01	.35
High (11 and up)	35	66	34			
Medium (8-10)	104	38	62			
Low (0-7)	23	30	70			
6. Religion	151			0.0	*	
Catholic	48	42	58			
Protestant	103	42	58			
7. Union membership	67			0.0	*	
(part-time farmers only)						
Yes	25	48	52			
No	42	48	52			
8. Farm Bureau membership	161			.21	*	
Yes	45	40	60			
No	116	44	56			

¹ Divergence from the total N of 167 results from elimination of non-completed Rundquist-Sletto scales.

*Not significant at the .05-level.

favorable, and the "expanding farming" group, who intend to go into full-time farming, were the least favorable. The only other factor associated with the dependent variable to the extent of approaching statistical significance at the .05-level was socio-economic status. The high status group was the more favorable.

PARTIAL ASSOCIATION

In the case of each significant relationship on the basis of total association, a mechanical partialing was carried out to determine the extent to which the relationship held when the influence of other variables was con-

trolled. The sample size prevented controlling more than one variable at a time. The degree of partial association was measured by computing the chi-square value for the twofold tables in the subsamples, and where significant differences were found, \bar{C} was computed.

In the total-association analysis, two variables—education and type of farming operation—were significantly related to attitudes toward law (Table 5). For purposes of partial-association analysis, education was dichotomized as high (above 8th grade) and low (8th grade and below) and controlled, while

TABLE 5. PARTIAL ASSOCIATION ANALYSIS

Independent variable	Dependent variable	Control	Subclasses of independent variable	N	Favorable	Unfavorable	X*	P	\bar{O}
1. Farming operation	Attitudes toward law	Education: High	Part-time	56	Percent	Percent	.12	•	.....
		Low	Full-time	31	87	13	.....	.....	.....
				25	80	20	.....	.....	.....
				106	.....	.....	1.0	•	.....
				36	67	33	.....	.....	.....
				70	54	46	.....	.....	.....
2. Type of part-time farming	Attitudes toward education	Education: High	Hobby	31	.....	.....	2.1	•	.....
			Farming-working	15	60	40	.....	.....	.....
			Expanding	8	25	75	.....	.....	.....
				36	50	50	.....	.....	.....
		Low	Hobby	15	53	47	2.1	•	.....
			Farming-working	14	79	21	.....	.....	.....
			Expanding	7	71	29	.....	.....	.....
3. Age	Attitudes toward economic institutions	Education: High	20-49	60	.....	.....	2.7	•	.....
			50 and over	43	95	5	.....	.....	.....
				17	82	18	.....	.....	.....
		Low	20-49	102	.....	.....	.2	•	.....
			50 and over	38	76	24	.....	.....	.....
				64	80	20	.....	.....	.....
4. Education	Attitudes toward law	Farming operation: Part-time	High	67	.....	.....	2.8	.....	.....
			Low	31	87	13	.....	.....	.....
				36	67	33	.....	.....	.....
		Full-time	High	95	.....	.....	4.2	.05	.32
			Low	25	80	20	.....	.....	.....
				70	54	46	.....	.....	.....
5. Education	Attitudes toward economic institutions	Age: 20-49	High	89	.....	.....	6.2	.02	.40
			Low	51	96	4	.....	.....	.....
				38	76	24	.....	.....	.....
		50 and over	High	81	.....	.....	.01	•	.....
			Low	17	82	18	.....	.....	.....
				64	80	20	.....	.....	.....

•Not significant at the .05 level.

type-of-farming operation was allowed to vary. Under these conditions, type-of-farming operation showed no relationship to the dependent variable.

In the partial analysis of attitudes toward education, with education controlled and part-time farming (categorized as "hobby," "farming-working," and "expanding") permitted to vary, there was no statistically significant association between part-time farming and attitudes toward education, although there had been such an association in the total analysis.

The variables of education and age were significantly related to attitudes toward the economic institutions in the zero-order analysis. However, controlling on education (above 8th grade, 8th grade and below) and permitting age (20-29, 50 and over) to vary resulted in no statistically significant differences in the subsample.

Education, which was significantly related to attitudes toward law, was significantly associated only in the full-time subsample when controlled on the basis of type-of-farming operation (part-time, full-time). Education had also shown significant relationship with attitudes toward the economic institution on the basis of total association, as had the factor of age. Controlling on age (20-49, 50 and over) and permitting education to vary (high, low) resulted in a significant relationship only in the age-group 20-49, with the "high" education group being very favorable in their attitudes as contrasted to the "low" education group.

Thus, only the variable of education remains significantly related to any of the dependent variables under conditions of partial association, and only within two of the subsamples.

SUMMARY

In view of the absence of significant differences between part-time and full-

time farmers with respect to attitudes toward basic institutional complexes, the thesis that the part-time farmer is a cultural hybrid and contributes to instability in the rural social structure appears questionable. The part-time farmer's participation in the larger urban complex, as he engages in his non-farm occupation, does not seem to contribute to a divergence in value orientation from that of the full-time farmers studied. It would appear that a fruitful avenue for further research would be to determine the degree to which the part-time farmer's urban participation tends to be nominal or passive, and thus results in little influence upon his attitudes and behavior outside the immediate work situation.

A factor which may account for lack of significant differences is the extent to which part-time farmers are recruited from the full-time farm population, either sons of full-time farmers or former full-time farmers now on the brink of retirement engaging in off-farm work in order to supplement small incomes from a reduced scale of farm operations. In the field interviewing, very few individuals of urban background and without previous farming experience were found to be engaging in part-time farming.

It appears plausible that some part-time farmers (e.g., "hobby" farmers) may have, in addition to economic motivation, a personal-value orientation which is in accord with the value orientation of full-time farmers and with the rural social structure, thus contributing to homogeneity rather than to heterogeneity.

It should be noted again that the sample was taken in a county in which a large city is located. The media of mass communication are readily available and may have resulted in a diffusion of urban values throughout the area. Other data gathered in the study

but not included here—relating to visiting patterns, shopping patterns, radio and television listening, and newspaper reading—indicate that this is not nec-

essarily the case. Before a definitive statement can be made, it will be necessary to have the same attitude data for a sample of urban residents.

THE ECOLOGY OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY IN THE SMALL CITY AND THE RURAL HINTERLAND

by Joseph C. Lagey†

ABSTRACT

An exploratory study was undertaken in a Pennsylvania county with two small cities and a sizable rural population. The county had an organized juvenile court and probation office.

Delinquency cases before the court during 1954-56 were studied. In the two small cities, there was a concentration of delinquents in the older parts of town, near transportation arteries. On a spot-map the residences of delinquents are concentrated in ribbons rather than in concentric zones. In the rural parts of the county, delinquents were concentrated in a few villages and townships.

Fewer delinquents here than in large cities had accomplices. Accomplices of rural delinquents usually lived some distance away, while in urban areas associates in delinquency lived close to each other. It is suggested that in urban areas delinquency may represent adjustment to subgroup norms, while in rural areas it may represent failure to adjust to any norms.

After the pioneer work of Shaw¹ on the ecology of delinquency in a very urban setting—the city of Chicago—there followed a number of similar studies in other large cities.² The findings of these studies were similar and this led to the assumption that crime, suicide, alcoholism, certain of the psychoses, and other pathologies had a direct relationship to the intensity of urbanization.

The belief that social and individual disorganization are primarily functions of the process of urbanization has found expression in a number of ways.

†Moose Lake State Hospital, Moose Lake, Minn.; formerly Allegheny College, Meadville, Pa.

¹ Clifford R. Shaw et al., *Delinquency Areas* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1929).

² E.g., Calvin F. Schmid, *Social Saga of Two Cities: An Ecological and Statistical Study of the Social Trends in Minneapolis and St. Paul* (Minneapolis: Minneapolis Council of Social Agencies, 1937); Clifford R. Shaw and Henry D. McKay, *Juvenile Delinquency and Urban Areas* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942); Stuart Lotz, "Distribution of Criminal Offenses in Metropolitan Regions," *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, XXIX (1938-1939), pp. 39-45.

Textbooks in the field of disorganization ordinarily contain few studies of rural populations. This perhaps reflects the long-held view that the primary group relationships predominating in rural societies are conducive to adjustment to the norms, while the impersonal characteristics of the urban setting tend to result in *anomie*. Ramifications of this have been such that few rural sociology textbooks have presented any material on rural slums or pathology. This absence of material on disorganization in rural society and the emphasis on disorganization in the study of urban society led Mills to study the social backgrounds of the "investigators of evil within the city gates."³

Although it has been some time since Mills published his observations, his study does not seem to have resulted in a marked reorientation in the study of pathology. There are still very few studies of rural social disorganization, crime, or delinquency. A 1955 revision of a widely used rural sociology textbook does not mention crime or delin-

³ C. Wright Mills, "The Professional Ideology of Social Pathologists," *The American Journal of Sociology*, XLIX (Sept., 1943).

quency, and this is true of most other textbooks in the field. So far as the ecology of crime is concerned, it is ironic that the earliest studies in the general field of human ecology were in a rural locale.⁴ There is probably no more frequently cited study in the ecology literature than that of the pioneer rural sociologist, Galpin.⁵

STUDY LOCALE AND DESIGN

In view of the paucity of research on rural delinquency, any study in this field is necessarily exploratory. The writer wished to make explorations in the ecology of juvenile delinquency in rural areas and sought an appropriate locale in Pennsylvania, where he was living at the time. It was felt that if the area selected was too rural there would be few written records or no juvenile court at all. Also, in a rural area that had not yet felt the full impact of urban influences, there might still remain many of the primary group characteristics that operate informally through community pressure rather than the formal arrest and court procedures of urban society.

Since delinquency records for rural areas are kept on a county basis, a county seemed the logical unit for study. It was felt that if the county-seat town was too large, there might be an atmosphere of hostility toward the rural hinterland and this might result in a greater frequency of arrests of rural people, as often happens to a group that comes to be defined as a "minority." Thus, the problem was that of finding an "optimum" county, not too urban but administered and policed by a well-organized county government having all of the parapher-

nal for recording arrests and sentences.

Of several counties considered as locations for the study, none had records on juvenile delinquents going back more than five years. The concept of probation officer is only now emerging in these counties. Where a probation office is provided, the county commissioners seem to have justified the budget for it primarily on the ground that it is needed as a collecting agency or bank for installment payment of court fines and costs, alimony, and money for support of dependents.

Several counties were rejected as too urban or too rural, or too informal in their court procedures. Venango, an Appalachian county about ninety miles northeast of Pittsburgh and thirty southeast of Erie, was finally selected. Its 1950 population was 65,328.⁶ Franklin, the county seat, had 10,006. Oil City, the only other town of much size, had 19,581. The county is urban to the extent that for the past three years written records have been kept in the newly established probation office. Its rural orientation is apparent in the primary-group character of many interpersonal relationships. The youth of the area are known by the police officials on a first-name basis. The judge, who is eighty-three years old, has spent practically all of his life in the county. The probation officer, likewise a native, knows the area intimately.

Unlike many counties, Venango had no administrative rivalries between county, city, borough, and state officials. In some counties the state police were operating independently of the city police, and a spirit of rivalry had emerged. Venango met other criteria that were considered important. All the justices in the county bound-

⁴ J. H. Von Thunen, *Der isolierte Staat in Beziehung auf Landwirtschaft und Nationalökonomie* (Hamburg und Rostock, 1863).

⁵ C. J. Galpin, *The Social Anatomy of an Agricultural Village*, Wisconsin AES Rsch. Bull. 34 (Madison, 1915).

⁶ U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *County and City Data Book*, 1952 (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Gov't Printing Office, 1953).

ed over to the juvenile court the juveniles that appeared before them. In some other counties, local justices conducted "courts of no record"—informal hearings which usually ended with payment of damages and costs of the hearing. In one county, nine justices were hearing juvenile cases informally, and only rarely referred such cases to the state police or juvenile court. Needless to say, few of these justices have the records of such cases other than in memories, and such memories soon become dim. In Venango, all persons under 18 who were arrested appeared before the court. In the adjoining county, the probation officer could exercise discretion as to whether a minor appeared before the court and whether the records were destroyed after the minor reached the age of 21.

It was possible to include in the study all but 6 of the 132 delinquency cases before the court during 1954-56, since complete records were available. Before 1954 the county had employed a part-time probation officer, and no records are available from that period. All of the cases handled in this three-year period were those of white juveniles, although about 1.5 per cent of the county's population was nonwhite.

DISTRIBUTION OF DELINQUENTS

Residences of the 126 delinquents for whom in-county addresses were available were spotted on the county map and the maps of the two cities (Figure 1). Rural addresses were located by the probation officer, who is required to visit the home of every delinquent. Data as to disposition, type of offense, and other aspects of the cases were transcribed from court and probation office records.

As the figure indicates, there is a pattern of concentration in Oil City and Franklin that suggests a non-random distribution of the residences of delinquents in these two small cities.

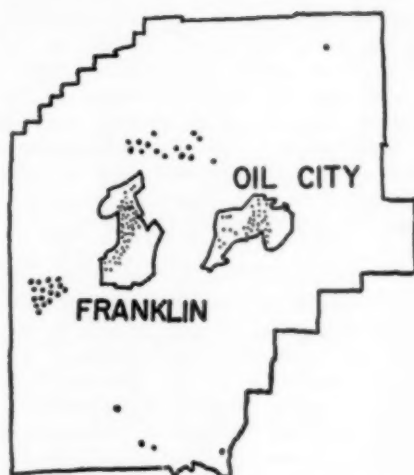


FIGURE 1. RESIDENCES OF JUVENILE DELINQUENTS, VENANGO COUNTY, PENNSYLVANIA, 1954-56

Since the study did not relate the distribution of delinquents to population density or the distribution of the under-18 population in the two cities, the extent of non-randomness cannot be stated. However, in Oil City, 25 out of 36 delinquents lived within 500 feet of a railroad; and in Franklin, 32 out of 52. In both cities, the newer subdivisions and better residential areas had almost no cases of recorded delinquency, and the older areas had a very high concentration. However, there are indications of unreported delinquency in the higher-status areas of each community. In general, the data suggest that factors similar to those observed in large metropolitan areas are operating in these small cities. Areas of transition, areas close to industry and transportation routes, and slum areas have a high incidence of officially recorded delinquency.

In Franklin, 48 of 52 cases were in the older part of the city, and these were highly concentrated. In Oil City, there was greater dispersion; nonetheless 30 out of 36 delinquents lived in

close proximity to the Allegheny River or to a railroad. In both cities, there was a ribboning effect rather than a concentric-zone pattern. This is probably due to the fact that the cities are in long narrow valleys, dissected by a river and hemmed in on both sides by steep rock formations.

The figure suggests also that rural delinquents are no more randomly distributed than those in the two small cities. On the map, a definite clustering is apparent. Moreover, a tabulation by political subdivision indicated that more than half of the rural delinquents resided in the seven boroughs (villages), and that one borough and one township together accounted for more than three-fourths of them. Most of the 21 rural townships, with populations ranging from a few hundred to over five thousand, had no recorded delinquents in the three years.

ACCOMPLICES

Venango County delinquents apparently have fewer accomplices than delinquents in large cities. A quarter of the rural delinquents and a fifth of those in the two cities had accomplices (other than their own siblings) according to court records and definitions. In striking contrast, the Gluecks⁷ found that 98 per cent of the delinquents they studied in Boston had accomplices or companions; and in their Chicago studies, Shaw and McKay⁸ found that 88 per cent had them.

Of 12 rural delinquents who were involved with others at the time of the delinquent act, three had accomplices residing less than a mile away, while the accomplices of the other 9 resided at distances of one to more than five miles away. The accomplices of urban delinquents, on the other hand, lived

much closer to them. Half of the accomplices lived within 500 feet.

CONCLUSION

The present study has shown the ecological pattern of juvenile delinquency in the two small cities and the rural areas of a county, but it has not provided an explanation as to the underlying economic and social factors. Perhaps the most significant finding is that of the difference between rural and urban areas in the residential propinquity of delinquents and their accomplices. It appears that the urban youth commits his delinquent act in close association with other urban delinquents of his neighborhood, while the rural offender acts more nearly as a social isolate. If this is the case, the difference should be related both to causation and to treatment. In the one instance, the youth is a delinquent because of association; in the other, he is a delinquent because of isolation. Through intimate contacts in a group, the urban delinquent may receive support for his norms; the rural offender may suffer from *anomie*.

Several bits of evidence tend to support this interpretation. In some preliminary case investigations which the writer conducted in the county, he observed that the rural delinquent frequently belongs to a delinquent family, surrounded by more conformist or law-abiding families. The whole family may be excluded from social interaction with surrounding folk. They may be left out of the local churches and organizations, and the children may be isolated in the school bus. It was noted, also, that all recorded cases of incest in the county were in rural areas, and incest is usually regarded as associated with social isolation.

Thus, delinquency in the urban setting may represent adjustment to group norms and expectations, whereas in rural areas it may represent a

⁷ Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck, *Unraveling Juvenile Delinquency* (New York: The Commonwealth Fund, 1950), p. 164.

⁸ Shaw and McKay, *op. cit.*, pp. 193-199.

failure to adjust to any norms. If so, the prognosis for the rural offender would appear less promising than that of the urban offender.

In general, it appears that rural delinquency is not related to ecological

variables to the degree that urban delinquency is. Social variables may be more important in explaining rural delinquency. Because of the exploratory nature of the present study, this can be posed only as a tentative hypothesis.

THE RELATIONSHIP OF RETAIL-SERVICE PATTERNS TO TRADE-CENTER POPULATION CHANGE*

by Edward Hassinger†

ABSTRACT

The varying complexity of services present in different trade centers in an area has long been observed and has formed the basis for a number of classifications of agricultural trade centers. In this paper, an attempt is made to classify centers according to complexity of types of retail services, by a precise method. It was found that the Guttman scaling technique was useful in ordering the centers according to the cumulative complexity of types of retail services. The service patterns thus arrived at were found to be related to the population changes of the centers, indicating that the classification has meaning in terms of the function of the centers.

The classification of population centers has concerned a number of sociologists. To be analytically useful, such classification should have meaning in terms of functions of centers in a developing social situation. In this paper, an approach to classifying agricultural trade centers is developed which perhaps extends the functional classifications developed by other researchers. As a test of the usefulness of the classification, the relationship of the classes to center growth and decline is also examined.

Trade and service have been recognized as highly important trade-center functions. Without exhausting the possibilities, T. Lynn Smith has pointed out four functions of agricultural trade centers in the United States—namely, trade and service, the nucleus of the rural community, an "old folks' home," and an arena of rural-urban conflict. He regarded the trade and service function as primary.¹ Carle Zimmerman wrote, in 1930, that "The type of service which the farm families call upon the agricultural trade centers to perform seems to be the primary factor

in determining the size, structure, and growth of the farm service centers."²

Complexity of services has been a common criterion for classifying centers. John Kolb set a much-used pattern when he classified centers along this continuum, from the single-service center to the urban and highly specialized type, with three steps in between.³ Zimmerman also classified centers according to services. Independent centers were those having a post office, telegraph office, express office, publisher, and bank. Elementary centers were those lacking any of the service just listed.⁴ Most recently, the report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture and Rural Life, Province of Saskatchewan, has classified centers of that province. The classification was based in part upon the "characteristic incremental services of each class of center."⁵

The idea that there are characteristic patterns of services for different cen-

*The writer wishes to acknowledge his debt to Lowry Nelson in this research.

†University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo.

¹ T. Lynn Smith, "The Role of the Village in American Rural Society," *Rural Sociology*, VII:1 (Mar., 1942), pp. 16-18.

² Carle C. Zimmerman, *Farm Centers in Minnesota, 1905-29*, Minnesota AES Bull. 269 (St. Paul, Sept., 1930), pp. 13-14.

³ John H. Kolb, *Service Relations of Town and Country*, Wisconsin AES Research Bull. 58 (Madison, Dec., 1923), pp. 5-7.

⁴ Zimmerman, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

⁵ Royal Commission on Agriculture and Rural Life, Province of Saskatchewan, *Service Centers* (Regina: Government of Saskatchewan, 1957), Report No. 12, p. 30.

ters is reinforced by examining Hoffer's data. He found in Michigan, in 1930, that certain services—for instance, grocery stores—were present in all centers with a population of 1,000 or more. Other services—for instance, shoe stores—were present in all centers with a population of 2,500 or more.⁶ Melvin also found a cumulation of services as size of center increased.⁷

These and other researches suggest a cumulative pattern of kinds of services; that is, certain centers appear to have all the services of other centers plus additional ones. However, the interrelationships among the services which would make up such a cumulative pattern have not been precisely detailed. The cumulative pattern suggests the scale form developed by Louis Guttman,⁸ and this technique forms the basis for classification of agricultural trade centers in this paper.

THE RETAIL SERVICE SCALE

The centers used in developing the present classification consisted of all incorporated places in 43 counties of southern Minnesota. The total number was 351; because of the characteristics of the study area, these places were judged to be predominantly agricultural trade centers.⁹

⁶ Charles R. Hoffer, *Changes in the Retail and Service Facilities of Rural Trade Centers in Michigan, 1900 and 1930*, Michigan State College AES Special Bull. 261 (East Lansing, Sept., 1935), p. 12.

⁷ Bruce L. Melvin, *Village Service Agencies*, New York, 1925, Cornell University AES Bull. 493 (Ithaca, N. Y., Aug., 1929), pp. 24-33 and 105-109.

⁸ Samuel A. Stouffer et al., *Studies in Social Psychology in World War II: Vol. 4, Measurement and Prediction* (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton Univ. Press, 1950), chaps. I, II, III.

⁹ For details on selection and characteristics of the area and the rationale for considering places within the area agricultural trade centers, see the writer's "Factors Associated with Population Changes in Agricultural Trade Centers of Southern Minnesota, 1940-1950" (unpublished doctoral dis-

sertation, University of Minnesota, 1956), pp. 37-51.

Comparable retail service patterns of the centers in the study area were constructed for 1939 and for 1951. Seven types of retail stores were used: grocery or general store, hardware or implement store, drug store, furniture store, clothing store, variety store, and florist shop or greenhouse. The presence or absence of each of these enterprises in each incorporated place was checked in Dun and Bradstreet reference volumes for the years 1939 and 1951.¹⁰ The results are shown in Table 1, which gives a complete description of the pattern of occurrence of the selected retail services in all centers of the study area in the two years. Arranged as they are in the table, the centers show a high degree of regularity in their retail-service pattern. Each center was assigned a score on the basis of the pattern. In 1939, 317 of the 350 centers were perfect scale types, while "errors" or gaps occurred in 33 of the centers. In 1951, 309 out of 345 centers were perfect scale types.

The way in which the services were arranged in the final scale departed from Guttman's suggested method somewhat, in that in all cases the score assigned to a center with an "error" was the score that corresponded to the highest-valued retail service (the service furthest to the right in Table 1) found in the center. It was believed that this arrangement increased the descriptive value of Table 1, in that the right edge of each scale type was solid. If, then, the score of a center is known, without exception it is known that there is no service of a greater score value (further to the right in Table 1) in that particular center. Because there were few places with more than one error, this procedure did not alter

sertation, University of Minnesota, 1956), pp. 37-51.

¹⁰ Data were not obtained for one center in 1939; and in 1951 there were six places for which data were not available in Dun and Bradstreet.

RETAIL-SERVICE PATTERNS

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TABLE 1. RETAIL SERVICE PATTERNS OF INCORPORATED PLACES IN 43 SOUTHERN MINNESOTA COUNTIES, 1939 AND 1951

Scale score	Distribution of places by service pattern				Presence or absence of specified services						
	Incorporated places, 1939		Incorporated places, 1951		Grocery or general store	Hardware or implement store	Drug store	Furniture store	Clothing store	Variety store	Florist shop or greenhouse
	Frequency*	Per cent	Frequency**	Per cent							
1	13	3.7	18	5.2	x	—	—	—	—	—	—
2	104	29.6	115	33.3	x	x	—	—	—	—	—
3	49	14.0	25	7.3	x	x	x	—	—	—	—
3	1	0.3	0	—	x	—	x	—	—	—	—
4	40	11.4	31	9.0	x	x	x	x	—	—	—
4	8	2.3	9	2.6	x	x	—	x	—	—	—
5	22	6.3	15	4.4	x	x	x	x	x	—	—
5	2	0.6	0	—	x	x	—	x	x	—	—
5	2	0.6	6	1.7	x	x	x	—	x	—	—
5	1	0.3	0	—	x	x	—	—	x	—	—
6	56	16.0	57	16.5	x	x	x	x	x	x	—
6	0	—	1	0.3	x	x	—	x	x	x	—
6	1	0.3	2	0.6	x	x	x	—	x	x	—
6	11	3.1	8	2.3	x	x	x	x	—	x	—
6	2	0.6	6	1.7	x	x	x	—	—	x	—
6	2	0.6	0	—	x	x	—	x	—	x	—
6	1	0.3	3	0.9	x	x	—	—	—	x	—
7	33	9.4	48	13.9	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
7	1	0.3	0	—	x	x	x	x	—	x	x
7	1	0.3	1	0.3	x	x	x	x	x	—	x
Total	350	100.0	345	100.0							

*Incomplete data for 1 place.

KEY: x = presence of service
— = absence of service

**Incomplete data for 6 places.

Coefficient of reproducibility:
1939 = .98; 1951 = .98Source: *Dun and Bradstreet Reference Book of Commercial Ratings 1939 and 1951* (New York: Dun and Bradstreet, Inc.).

the coefficient of reproducibility appreciably. Another departure made from the method suggested by Guttman was the inclusion of "grocery and general store" as one of the items in the scale. Since this type of service was present in all centers, it could not contribute to the error. Guttman warns that "if a sample comprises only items with extreme kinds of dichotomizations, reproducibility will be automatically high for the sample, regardless of the scalability of the set of items as a whole."¹¹ If the two extreme items on the lower end of the

scale (grocery or general store, and hardware or implement store) were eliminated, the coefficient of reproducibility, which has been a principal criterion of acceptability of Guttman-type scales, would be well above .95. Since the discussion is concerned with the structure of retail services, the fact that every center had a grocery store and most of them had hardware stores is important. The coefficient of reproducibility for the entire pattern was .98 for both years.

On the basis of the scale, the level of complexity of retail services can be ascertained for each center. The pattern itself suggests an interdependence

¹¹ Stouffer et al., op. cit., p. 78.

TABLE 2. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF 350 MINNESOTA INCORPORATED PLACES,* BY RETAIL-SERVICE SCORES FOR 1939, AND BY POPULATION CHANGE, 1940-1950

Population change, 1940-1950	Retail-service scores, 1939**		
	Scores 1 and 2 (N = 117)	Scores 3 and 4 (N = 98)	Scores 5, 6, and 7 (N = 135)
Gained more than 5 per cent. (N = 179)	32.5	49.0	68.9
Gained 5 per cent to lost 5 per cent. (N = 98)	25.6	34.7	25.2
Lost more than 5 per cent. (N = 73)	41.9	16.3	5.9
Total. (N = 350)	100.0	100.0	100.0

*No data for 1 place.

**See Table 1.

Chi-square = 58.7, d.f. = 4.

Significant at 1-per-cent level.

Source: U. S. Census of Population: 1950, Number of Inhabitants.

among centers, with places at the lower end of the scale providing everyday goods while centers with high scores provide more specialized and more infrequently used services, not only to farmers from a wider area but also to residents of surrounding, less specialized trade centers.

RELATION OF SERVICE SCORES TO POPULATION CHANGE

It was hypothesized that centers which offered more specialized retail services in greater range and variety would be more in harmony with the secular trend in rural society and, therefore, would show a population increase.

In order to test this hypothesis, centers were cross-tabulated according to percentage population change, 1940-1950, and their 1939 retail service score.¹² As can be seen in Table 2, 41.9 per cent of the places with scores of one and two had lost 5 per cent or more of their population during the period from 1940 to 1950, while 16.3 per cent with scores three and four and only 5.9 per cent with scores five, six, and seven lost 5 per cent or more. On the other hand, 68.9 per cent of the

places with scores of five, six, and seven had gained 5 per cent or more in population; 49.0 per cent with scores of three and four and 32.5 per cent with scores of one and two had gained 5 per cent or more. The difference in population growth between the centers in the three categories of retail service scores was significant at the 1-per-cent level on the basis of the chi-square test.¹³ These data, then, do not refute but rather tend to confirm the hypothesis that centers which offered more specialized and varied retail services would show a greater tendency to increase in population.

CHANGE IN SERVICE PATTERNS, 1939-1951

By comparing the patterns of services for 1939 and 1951 in Table 1, it can be observed that there was a tendency for more places to be located at both the upper and the lower ends of the scale in 1951 than in 1939. In 1939, there were 117 centers with scores of one and two; by 1951, the number had risen to 133, to which can be added safely the 6 incorporated places not included in the Dun and Bradstreet report for 1951. There were fewer type-three, -four, and -five centers in 1951,

¹² It was reasoned that the retail scores were antecedent to population change. Therefore, the 1939 scores were used rather than the 1951 scores.

¹³ Chi-square is used on the assumption that the centers are representative of a larger hypothetical universe.

TABLE 3. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF 345 MINNESOTA INCORPORATED PLACES,* BY CHANGE IN RETAIL-SERVICE TYPES, 1939-1951, AND BY CHANGE IN POPULATION, 1940-1950

Population change, 1940-1950	Change in retail-service types, 1939-1951**		
	Gained (N = 65)	Remained same (N = 214)	Lost (N = 66)
Gained 5 per cent or more..... (N = 178)	69.0	51.9	33.3
Did not gain 5 per cent..... (N = 167)	31.0	48.1	66.7
Total..... (N = 345)	100.0	100.0	100.0

*No data for 6 places.

Chi-square = 17.0, d.f. = 2.

**See Table 1.

Significant at 1-per-cent level.

Source: U. S. Census of Population: 1950, Number of Inhabitants.

slightly more type-six centers, and considerably more type-seven centers. This trend toward more centers at both ends of the scale is not inconsistent with increased local mobility and changing buying habits. Every center need not supply all or even a large part of the goods desired; this may lead to a greater number of simple retail service centers. At the same time, the demand for greater variety in goods and the ability and willingness to travel farther for them has favored the more complex retail-service centers.

RELATION OF CHANGES IN SERVICE PATTERNS TO CHANGES IN POPULATION

Over the period, 214 of the 345 centers retained the same retail-service pattern, 65 gained one or more of the types of retail service in the scale, and 66 places lost one or more of these types of retail services. A loss or gain of a type of service was not always the same as a change in retail-service score, because the loss of a type of retail service might create a gap in the pattern or the gain of a type of retail service might fill such a gap without changing the score. For instance, a center in 1939 with a grocery store, a hardware store, and a furniture store—but with no drug store—would be

given a score of four, but there would be one error (lack of drug store) in the pattern. If a drug store had been acquired by 1951, a type of retail service would have been added to the total pattern of retail services without changing the score for the individual center, as the centers were scored.

A relationship was found between change in retail-service types and change in population (Table 3). Of the places that gained retail-service types, 69.0 per cent also gained 5 per cent or more in population. Conversely, only 33.3 per cent of the places that lost retail-service types gained 5 per cent or more. The places that remained unchanged in retail-service types were almost equally divided between those that gained 5 per cent or more in population and those that did not gain that much. The relationship between percentage change in population and change in retail-service types proved to be significant at the 1-per-cent level by chi-square test.

Conceivably, the relationship between change in the retail-service pattern and change in population for incorporated places could be attributed to their position in the retail-service pattern. Therefore, this relationship was examined for centers having the same retail-service scores. In this way,

the effect of the position of incorporated places within the retail-service pattern was controlled.

There appeared to be a definite relationship between population change and change in types of retail services for incorporated places with scores of one and two in 1939; none of the 11 places that had lost types of services gained as much as 5 per cent in population. (There were not enough cases to test this statistically.) At other retail-service score levels there either were not enough cases for a chi-square test or differences were not statistically significant.¹⁴ However, examination of the data revealed a perfectly consistent direction in the apparent relationship. At each retail-service score level the proportion of places that had gained 5 per cent or more in population was largest for places that had gained types of retail services, next largest for places that had shown no change in

types of retail services, and smallest for places that had lost types of retail services. The consistency in direction of relationship gives some evidence that there was a real association between change in the types of retail service and population change at every retail-service score level.

CONCLUSION

This analysis was for a limited geographical area and the findings, of course, are applicable to other areas only to the extent that situations are similar. However, if it did not seem probable that the analysis had wider application, the writer would not present this paper to a national or international audience of rural sociologists. A detailed report of the characteristics of the area was presented in the full report of the research, referred to earlier. It is at least polite for every researcher to plead for replication of research in order to establish the generality of the findings. It appears that this research lends itself to—as well as demands—such replication.

¹⁴ Not enough cases for a chi-square test at retail-service score levels 1, 2, 6, 7; not significant by chi-square test at retail-service score levels 3, 4, 5.

THE RISE OF AGRARIAN ABSENTEEISM AND ITS EFFECT ON THE TRADITIONAL SOCIETY OF CHINA

by Shu-Ching Lee and Verna Kriesel†

ABSTRACT

The effective functioning of the traditional society of China seemed to hinge upon two conditions: (1) prosperity of the peasant economy, and (2) adjustment between the landowning gentry and the peasantry, about half of the latter group being tenants or part-tenants. The impact of Western culture impaired the already worsening economy and brought disorders to the rural community, and, as a consequence, gentry families moved to cities. This exodus left behind not only agrarian absenteeism but also social anomie, for it deprived the villages of their elite leadership. Furthermore, the gentry, now unmindful of the peasant plight and confronting an ever-increasing outlay due to their tasting of urban luxury and comfort, resorted to raising their demands on the peasants for rent or interest, or both. Thus, agrarian absenteeism may be said to have contributed more than anything else to the breakdown of the traditional structure which opened China to a new phase of development.

The tenancy problem, as H. C. Taylor aptly states it, is a human problem rather than merely a land problem.¹ It involves mutual adjustment between two groups of people concerning the use of farm land. In an overwhelmingly agricultural country such as China was (and still is), success or failure of this adjustment may mean the difference between social stability and unrest. This paper, though focusing primarily on agrarian absenteeism, throws much light on the process of social disintegration in at least one type of peasant society. The changes that have taken place there may occur elsewhere.

For those who are unfamiliar with the agrarian situation in pre-Communist China, the following is a brief summary: According to the latest estimate available (1947), the farming population constituted about 71 per cent of the population.² How big a

proportion of this group was made up of tenants is a matter of guesswork, because of the lack of a national census. The extent of tenancy varied from region to region, from area to area. In some sections most of the peasants were owner-operators, in others nearly all were tenants, and in still others some were part-owners and part-tenants. Though statistics based on local surveys have not always been scientifically gathered or checked, and some variation occurs, one thing invariably stands out—i.e., the figures for farm tenancy in the South are universally higher than those in the North, and the lowest percentages are found in the frontier areas. Generally speaking, as pointed out by the senior author elsewhere,³ the picture in the North was one of universal poverty while that in the South was a contrast between poverty and wealth. This difference is in part attributable to natural conditions, which vary widely between South China and North China. It is true that, if land is so poor that it only maintains the cultivator and his family on a subsistence level of living

†University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill., and Washington University, St. Louis, Mo., respectively.

¹H. C. Taylor, "What Should Be Done about Farm Tenancy," *Journal of Farm Economics*, XX (Feb., 1938), p. 148.

²Directorate of Statistics, *Statistical Abstract of the Republic of China, 1947* (Nanking: National Government of China, 1947), p. 1.

³Shu-Ching Lee, "Social Implications of Farm Tenancy in China" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Chicago, 1950), p. 26.

without paying rent, the investor (who is often a town dweller) would not buy it. However, the fertility of the soil in the South is a condition making the development of tenancy possible, but not the cause of it.⁴ Agricultural problems can be studied only by taking into account their institutional background—i.e., the cultural traditions, political structure, and economic organization.

The low standard of living in China was reflected in almost every aspect of the peasant's life. Far too high a proportion of the meager income went toward the necessities for maintaining physical life.⁵ Earlier, several attempts were made to estimate the minimum income needed to support a family of the average size of five persons in China. More than 50 per cent of the families examined in the villages of East China and more than four-fifths of those in the villages of North China had incomes below the minimum required to meet the budget of a "from hand to mouth" living.⁶ Another survey showed that in 5 of the 17 villages the median income fell below the same minimum figure.⁷ More revealing than the income figure is the tiny size of the farm under cultivation. According to the estimate of Chinese scholars, to supply the bare food requirements for a family of five persons a farm of 2.25 acres is needed. In China, however, 40 to 50 per cent of the peasant families had land which was under this minimum size and, therefore, insufficient to

provide food—to say nothing of fulfilling other requirements.⁸ In 1928, the average area of cultivated land per family in all China, including Manchuria where the farms were larger, was 3.1 acres.⁹ Because of the small holdings and the fact that even these are fragmented into small plots, it was not possible for small proprietors to make efficient use of work animals, not to mention labor-saving machinery¹⁰—even if they were able to raise the former or purchase the latter. Using primarily human labor, the farms were necessarily small and concentrated on the best land. Extension of land beyond the margin of cultivation would mean little.¹¹ The foregoing indicates the fact that the life and struggle of the small-owner peasant was just as desperate as that of the tenant.

Bearing this background in mind, one is in a better position to appraise the gravity of China's land-tenure problem, particularly that of absentee landownership. Absenteeism proceeds most rapidly in the neighborhood of great cities, in the districts where the static conditions of rural life are broken up by the expansion and impact of industry and commerce. For China, as a whole, the problem was not so much one of aggregation of large estates (some such did exist) as a problem of widely diffused but comparatively small-scale landlordism.¹² This makes the problem of dealing with unduly heavy rents or reorganizing farm tenure very complicated. It is safe to accept the estimate that no more than

⁴ Hsiao-tung Fei, *Earthbound China* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1945), pp. 6-7.

⁵ J. B. Condliffe, *China Today: Economic* (Boston: World Peace Foundation, 1932), pp. 42-44.

⁶ Cf. J. B. Taylor, "The Study in Chinese Rural Economy," *Chinese Social and Political Science Review*, VII (Jan. & Apr., 1924); and Walter H. Mallory, *China: Land of Famine* (New York: American Geographical Society, 1926).

⁷ J. Lossing Buck, *Chinese Farm Economy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1930), pp. 82-89.

⁸ R. H. Tawney, *Land and Labour in China* (New York: Harcourt Brace & Howe, 1932), p. 71.

⁹ O. E. Baker, "Agriculture and the Future of China," *Foreign Affairs*, VI (Apr., 1928), p. 490.

¹⁰ Lee, *op. cit.*, p. 119.

¹¹ *Idem*, "Pattern of Land Utilization and Possible Expansion of Cultivated Areas in China," *Journal of Land and Public Utility Economics*, XX (May, 1947), pp. 142-152.

¹² Condliffe, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

54 per cent and no less than 48 per cent of farm households of pre-war China were tenants or part tenants in the 1930's.¹³

TRADITIONAL SOCIETY

In order to understand some of the changes which were wrought by absenteeism it is necessary to take a look at traditional China. The *Book of Filial Piety*, or *Hsiao Ching*, gives these requirements for a good farmer: work according to seasons, suit crops to soil for profit, guard behavior, spend wisely, nurture parents with honor.¹⁴ As is known, filial piety is the living expression of ancestor worship, or, to put it differently, the respect due to deceased ancestors is only an extension of the cardinal virtue of filial piety.¹⁵ Confucianism, as the traditional orthodoxy, suppresses individualism in favor of familism. It is the family, not the individual, that owns land and bears status and prestige. The individual is only a link in the chain of social continuity, and his most important task is, of course, to perpetuate the family line.¹⁶

Unlike Japan, China has never had a system of primogeniture, and owing to equal rights of succession of brothers, the diminution of the size of the once large estate went on steadily in accord with the increase of the number of mouths in the family. Education in the Confucian classics in the old days, in order to pass the state examinations, was the only royal road opening to a government career, the mark of aris-

toocracy.¹⁷ There was no open and easy source of income other than agriculture. Most small landowners eventually had to become landless laborers. Rapid accumulation of wealth was impossible through farming enterprise. The movement upward on the economic ladder was slow, but the movement downward was fast.¹⁸ In spite of all this, however, a gentry had emerged who could afford to live without working. They represented the peak of the social pyramid, the leisure class, the minority who lived on rent.¹⁹ Much has been said about the pressure of population. The rural population was not too large for the busiest time in agriculture. With the techniques of cultivation in use, the number of people was just large enough to provide labor for meeting the requirements of periods of special activity.²⁰ In the past, subsidiary occupations and handicrafts, though they did not enable the peasants to get rich, aided them during the slack winter months. Thus, even though the landlords took a share of the produce, there was no unrest on the part of the peasants. The fact that they could engage in handicrafts was one of the reasons for this.

Two factors—the kinship organization and the need for mutual protection—led the Chinese peasants to live

¹³ Shu-Ching Lee, "The Heart of China's Problem, the Land Tenure System," *Journal of Farm Economics*, XXX (May, 1948), pp. 259-270.

¹⁴ Quoted from Buck, *op. cit.*, Preface.

¹⁵ Nathaniel Pfeffer, *China, the Collapse of a Civilization* (New York: John Day & Co., 1930), p. 39.

¹⁶ Shu-Ching Lee, "China's Traditional Family, Its Characteristics and Disintegration," *American Sociological Review*, XVIII (June, 1953), pp. 272-280.

¹⁷ Pfeffer, *op. cit.*, pp. 41-43; Shu-Ching Lee, "Intelligentsia of China," *American Journal of Sociology*, LII (May, 1947), pp. 189-197. A good account of China's intellectual class is also found in John K. Fairbank, *The United States and China* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1948), pp. 289-294.

¹⁸ Fei, *op. cit.*, p. 20; Lee, "Social Implications of Farm Tenancy in China," *op. cit.*, pp. 187-194.

¹⁹ Hsiao-tung Fei, "Peasantry and Gentry: An Interpretation of Chinese Social Structure and Its Changes," *American Journal of Sociology*, LII (July, 1946), pp. 3-4.

²⁰ Baker, *op. cit.*; and Lee, "Pattern of Land Utilization and Possible Expansion of Cultivated Areas in China," *op. cit.*, pp. 142-152.

close together in villages rather than dispersed.²¹ A large proportion of the villages are one-clan habitations, and a majority are formed by only two or three clans. Each individual family or household (in the Chinese sense of the word) lives in its own compound and has full control over its intimate affairs and over the family members.²² What an individual should do, whether he should be educated, what occupation he should follow, whom he should marry—and when—are matters concerning the whole family rather than the particular one concerned. There is property which is communally administered. This includes the ancestral hall where the tablets are kept and funeral ceremonies held. Generally a certain number of farms and estates were owned by the clan, the yields of which helped maintain the ancestral hall, as well as a school and philanthropic funds for the indigent members of the clan.²³ The renters of clan lands were thus members of the owning group, and it was virtually impossible to alienate them from their farms. Poorer households had a traditional right of occupancy and, though they were theoretically bound to pay the fees fixed, the treasurer would have difficulty in dispossessing them simply for delinquency. His freedom of action was limited both by the sanction of kinship

ties and by fear that incurring the hostility of members of his clan would result in the loss of his job.²⁴

The point of integration for the Chinese people, their natural grouping, and the centering of their attachments was the family. Theoretically, they lived under a patriarchy, under the rule of the father or eldest male of the household. In larger families, power was wielded by an informal council of elders. No piece of land was sold without their consent. The family was law-giver, judge, and source and enforcing agent of morals. Rarely did government agencies intervene. In economically self-sufficient communities it was not necessary to employ authority beyond that found in the local community. The gentry, the local self-governing group, followed local needs and conformed to local folkways and mores.²⁵ They dealt with the government through a representative. Politically, the Chinese were free, ruled as they were by custom and tradition.²⁶ The family organization was also a form of social insurance. There was poverty, of course, but less insecurity than in the industrialized West. The industrial revolution in Europe and America has put emphasis on material gain and acquisitiveness.²⁷ The traditional economic attitude of the Chinese, in contrast to this, is contentment,²⁸ which means in this case a willing acceptance of a low standard of material comfort. "Contentment leads to hap-

²¹ Cf. K. K. Leong and L. K. Tao, *Village and Town Life in China* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1915); also, Erich W. Zimmermann, *World Resources and Industries* (New York & London: Harper & Bros., 1933), pp. 144-146.

²² Daniel H. Kulp III, *Country Life in South China, the Sociology of Familism* (New York: Columbia University, 1925); Yueh-hua Lin, *The Golden Wing* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1947); and Lee, "China's Traditional Family, Its Characteristics and Disintegration," *op. cit.*, pp. 272-280.

²³ Cf. Hsien Chin Hu, *The Common Descent Group in China and Its Functions* (New York: Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology, No. 10, 1948).

²⁴ Fei, *Earthbound China*, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

²⁵ Cf. Max Weber, *The Religion of China* (trans. and ed. by Hans H. Gerth; Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1951), pp. 84-104.

²⁶ Shu-Ching Lee, "Administration and Bureaucracy: The Power Structure of Chinese Society," *Transactions of the Second World Congress of Sociology*, Vol. II (1954), pp. 3-15.

²⁷ Cf. R. H. Tawney, *The Acquisitive Society* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Howe, 1920).

²⁸ Fei, *Earthbound China*, *op. cit.*, pp. 82-83.

piness" is a popular motto often found on the front doors of village houses. Comfort is defined as the absence of strenuous effort, rather than the satisfaction of material wants. Contentment is adopted in a closed economy, acquisitiveness in an expanding one. Without economic opportunities, the striving for material gain is a disturbance to the existing order since it means the plunder of wealth from others.²⁹

In pre-industrial and agricultural countries, the ruling class, as a rule, is identified with those who hold title to the land. Where a great number of people are concentrated in a small area, land becomes not only a form of wealth but a symbol of social prestige.³⁰ There are several obvious factors involved in this situation. Studies invariably show that landowners enjoy generally a higher standard of living than tenants.³¹ More owners can afford to marry at the appropriate age, and marriage is overwhelmingly important in view of the traditional "filial prosperity," or having many sons. Only for owners would education, the royal road to advancement, be open. Tenants have no voice in village affairs. And, finally, landownership means a place to bury one's ancestors, to worship them and be protected by them.³²

Relationships between landlord and tenant under the traditional system were generally cordial and intimate,³³ either because of kinship or of personal ties built on joint participation in feasts, social or religious activities, and the like, and on the services each performed for the other. Tenants, deprived of education and therefore of any chance of improving their lot, were

glad to accept dependence upon the landlords. The landlords, in turn, through their representatives in the government acted really as guardians of the tenants in opposing official exactions, abuses, and acquisitions.³⁴ In times of dire need such as a year of famine, payments of rents could be and often were modified or even totally waived.

STRAINS IN THE SYSTEM

At about the turn of the last century, however, the once cordial relationship between the landlord and tenant began to show signs of strain. This development became further pronounced after twenty to thirty years of political chaos and warlord rule. Some of the changes that occurred in this period were concomitant and some had inter-causal relationships with others. The treatment of the changes in this paper is not intended to suggest what happened first nor the greater or lesser importance of any particular factor, but rather to relate these factors to the conditions leading to agrarian absenteeism and the results of that absenteeism.

The immediate effect of the introduction of manufactured goods into rural China was the destruction of the cottage handicrafts and home occupations of the peasants. The native hand products could not compete with the novelty and cheapness of the machine products from abroad and were soon driven from the market.³⁵ There was no defense against the ruin and impoverishment that followed. Peasants, who had been living at a subsistence level, now were underemployed and, in addition, became indebted to the merchants who purveyed the foreign manufactured commodities. Now when they were touched by misfortune or

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 84.

³⁰ Lee, "Social Implications of Farm Tenancy in China," *op. cit.*, pp. 89-99.

³¹ Buck, *op. cit.*, pp. 418 ff.

³² Kulp III, *op. cit.*; Hu, *op. cit.*

³³ Lee, "Social Implications of Farm Tenancy in China," *op. cit.*, p. 102.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ Condliffe, *op. cit.*, pp. 46-48; also cf. R. H. Tawney et al., *Agrarian China* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1939), pp. 224-258.

needed money for customary ceremonies, they had no savings and had to borrow. They were forced to use their land as security. Once land was mortgaged, there was little likelihood of getting it back. In the end, they usually had to sell.³⁶ In a rapidly changing world, the contentment doctrine, which had hitherto prevailed, became less and less convincing and effective. The traditional rural economy even forced in one way or another the rustic people into illegal activities which took the form of secret society movements, banditry, smuggling, insurrection, or political revolution.³⁷

The frequent occurrence of rural disturbances not only wrecked the smooth functioning of the centuries-old agrarian economy but caused a cityward movement of the gentry. The foreign-trade centers located on China's coasts offered opportunity, immunity from the warlord's exaction and interference, security from the harassment which made property less safe and from the rapacities of lesser officialdom, and also offered special privileges because the Chinese in the foreign concessions could enjoy the preferential position of foreigners.³⁸ As they began to flow into the trade ports of such cities as Shanghai, Tientsin, or Canton, they had to make—gradually but steadily—partial adaptation to foreign ways of life, and there developed a class of Chinese who did business with or for foreigners, flourished, and liked it. In the traditional society, the landlords were not producers. In a changed situation, they began to be concerned with the increasing outlay in commercial centers which could no longer be met by the usual amount of income. Thus, the demands for higher rents did not mean that the landlord had necessarily become more greedy

but rather that his former income did not meet his expanding needs after he had tasted the sweets of the luxury and comfort of urban life.³⁹ This exodus of landlord families from the rural areas accounts for a part of the high absentee landlordism.

In order to become an official, a college education was now necessary. In order to get this education, the student had to go to the urban centers. There were new expenses for better clothing, tuition, and equipment. The new education changed his outlook on life; the traditional ways were no longer acceptable and seemed backward and outmoded. It is easy to reject the age-old traditions, but it is not so easy to establish new ones. Besides new technical devices and political forms—as Tawney puts it—China needed new conceptions of law, administration, and political obligations, and new standards of conduct in government. The former can be and are borrowed; the latter have to be grown.⁴⁰ Although it was untrue that every official became corrupt, the traditional conception of "wealth through office" somewhat lingered. Lack of success in attaining it led to frustration of the individual and of the family and clan which stood behind him. Efficient modern government can be established only when the basis of rural economy is changed so that there are other outlets for ambitious and educated young men. In a community where industry and commerce are not developed, where land has already been exploited to the full under the prevailing techniques, and where population pressure is increasing, wealth apparently can be accumulated only by noneconomic means. Part of the second generation of the old landed gentry, having received a West-

³⁶ Fei, *Earthbound China*, op. cit., p. 201.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 279.

³⁸ Peffer, op. cit., pp. 117-118.

³⁹ Lee, "Social Implications of Farm Tenancy in China," op. cit., p. 87.

⁴⁰ Tawney, *Land and Labour in China*, op. cit., p. 166.

ern education and being an intellectual class, took up professional jobs in the cities or entered the officialdom as usual. Many were joined by their immediate families. The patriarchy, with its communal sharing of property and communal exercise of authority through the elders, was left behind.⁴¹ With it went the once cordial and personal ties between landlord and tenant.

A new type of landlord arose among the powerful militarists and officials. Fattened by tax incomes, loan commissions, and squeezes from soldiers' payments, these new landlords were far more formidable than those who belonged to the old gentry, because they could now collect their rents more effectively by direct force. A third type arose from among the big merchants, or compradores, who attained this position through serving as middlemen between the commercial firms in the cities and the peasants in the country, or through serving directly as agents for foreign business establishments. Eager to improve the low status of merchants in traditional China and searching for an outlet in which to invest the accumulated capital, they discovered almost instantly that investment in land could serve well both purposes at the same time. The influx of commercial as well as bureaucratic capital investment in farm land constituted the most significant factor which caused rapid growth of big estates, on the one hand, and the high rate of absentee ownership on the other, in the regions adjacent to commercial centers and trade ports.

AGRARIAN ABSENTEEISM

Accompanying agrarian absenteeism was an intrusion between the landlord and tenant of a class of middlemen

who performed services for the landlord in the management of his estates, supervision of tenants, and collection of rent. These third parties or agents, to whom dealing with tenants was a job rather than a personal affair, often cheated both ways, "persuading the landlord to accept less on account of poor harvest while browbeating the tenants by threats of eviction into paying more than they owe."⁴² Gone was the traditional, primary relationship between the landowning and landless classes; and tenant riots ensued. Even renters of clan lands were no longer safe, for the clan, deprived of its leadership and the support of the local gentry who were now living in the towns or cities, had rapidly disintegrated and the landed property once communally owned and administered had been disposed of. Tenancy had to be transferred to the new ownership or relinquished. In the southern provinces, where commercialization went deeper, it became an increasing practice for large blocks of farm land to be rented by well-to-do merchants or even by companies formed *ad hoc* and then sublet piecemeal at high rates to peasants. Land owned by commercial people was more likely to be kept from the hands of the villagers permanently. Their economic base was larger and stronger; therefore, the costs of marriage, funerals, opium-smoking, and gambling did not cause them to sell. If they sold at all, it was to other merchants. Contrary to tradition, the absenteeism so established rested on a firm basis. Under these circumstances, the more the city grew, the poorer were the peasants.⁴³ This development is vividly reminiscent of the famous lines composed by Oliver Goldsmith some two centuries ago:

⁴¹ Lee, "China's Traditional Family, Its Characteristics and Disintegration," *op. cit.*, pp. 278-279; also, Olga Lang, *Chinese Family and Society* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1946), pp. 102-119.

⁴² Tawney, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

⁴³ Fei, *Earthbound China*, *op. cit.*, p. 295; cf. also his *China's Gentry* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953), pp. 108-126.

Ill fares the land, the hastening ills a
prey,
Where wealth accumulates, and men
decay.

The concentration of farm landownership into fewer hands, coupled with the increasing demands for higher rents and taxes by the absentee landlords and officials, inevitably squeezed a part of the rural population from the villages. Those who had squandered away their patrimony, lost titles in landownership, or never had any, had to go somewhere to earn a living. Few job opportunities were open to these landless peasants or "wandering souls."⁴⁴ Some hired themselves out as soldiers or militiamen, thus becoming ready materials for China's warlordism. Others worked as peddlers or handicraftsmen. Still others simply took to the woods and became a source of further interruption and disturbance to the already worsening peasant economy. Finally, a considerable number of them drifted into the crowded cities or trade ports and to seek their fortune as factory workers, coolies, or even racketeers. Overabundance of labor in the market led to exploitation; and exploitation, in turn, fostered resentment and hatred against the *status quo*. A single spark could set off a social conflagration.

RESULTS

With the traditional society of China in such a state of disintegration, the militarists in Tokyo must have envisaged the situation as a God-given opportunity to conquer China once and for all. Since the so-called "Mukden incident" in 1931, the Japanese military machine had, now hesitantly and now abruptly, penetrated within a decade into all the heavily populated, coastal provinces. The war, which inflicted on

China repeated humiliations and defeats, thoroughly shattered the foundation of society. When the Japanese invading troops took over large cities and communication lines, they thus exposed the vast territory of peasant villages to the infiltration of Communists. The peasants for the first time in history were taught guerrilla warfare and organized into harassing bands which were intended to defend national interests in war and to protect their own interests when peace was restored. Apart from the strong appeal of nationalistic sentiments, these uprooted peasants in the war-torn areas had every reason to be patriotic and follow the Communist leadership which was then joined by hundreds and thousands of young students whose education in the cities was interrupted by war. Bearing this in mind, one should not wonder that the war years of the late 1930's and early 1940's witnessed the decline of influence and power of the Nationalist regime, whose alliance was largely with the landowning gentry, and the building up of the strength of the People's Liberation Army, which was primarily composed of the underprivileged peasants. When the war was over, a social revolution was bound to come sooner rather than later.⁴⁵

To summarize, it may be pointed out that, with the introduction of Western civilization and a money economy into China, the development of agrarian absenteeism increased. Tempted by the luxury and comfort of urban life and vexed by rural disturbances, the local gentry moved to the cities or trade ports; and the loss of them as intermediaries between the villages and the

⁴⁴ Shu-Ching Lee, "Employment Conditions of the Agricultural Laborer in China and His Prospects for Social Advancement," *Rural Sociology*, XVI:3 (Sept., 1951), pp. 238-245.

⁴⁵ *Idem*, "Agrarianism and Social Upheaval in China," *American Journal of Sociology*, LVI (May, 1951), pp. 511-518. For a well-balanced, factual account of the Chinese Revolution in general, cf. C. P. Fitzgerald, *Revolution in China* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, Inc., 1952).

government not only exposed the former to the latter's requisition and abuse, but also seriously impaired the effective functioning of society. Furthermore, their rising standards of living in the cities laid an ever-increasing burden on the shoulders of the tenants. Though agrarian outrages are not uncommon in Chinese history, the riots of the poverty-stricken peasants against the absentee landlords and their agents assumed a new character—that of the

conflict between rural and urban interests. When this agrarian movement led by the Communists merged with the movements of national resistance and patriotism after the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War, the revolutionary tide swept over the whole country and brought about changes so fundamental and drastic that the China of today can never be the China of yesterday.

AN EXPERIMENT IN ATTITUDINAL OUTCOMES RESULTING FROM SEMINARY COURSES IN "THE CHURCH AND COMMUNITY"

by Henry Shissler†

ABSTRACT

The purpose of the study was to identify correlates of the church-centered and the community-centered orientation among male students in eight Methodist graduate schools of theology, and to measure attitudinal change along the church-community continuum resulting from taking "The Church and Community" or a similar course in the seminary. Students in classes in church history or Bible were used as a control group.

A Minister's Attitude Scale was constructed, on the basis of the Thurstone-Chave method. It was pretested, and tests for validity and reliability were conducted; the scale was then administered to experimental and control groups in the seminaries. A retest was given nine weeks later.

Characteristics related to community-centeredness were urban rearing, attending seminary in the North, having an "A" average, being a senior, being a graduate of a nonchurch college, and having an undergraduate social science major. Those taking "The Church and Community" or a similar course showed increased community-centeredness on the retest. Various characteristics were related to the extent of attitude change.

THE PROBLEM AND RESEARCH DESIGN

Among contemporary leaders in theological education, there is a growing discontent with the seminary's educational results. This concern is partly caused by a new perspective which many of the leaders have of the church and its mission. They maintain that the church is more than an institution for evangelizing and "saving" individuals, and that, rather than functioning as a social agency, it must take on a mission in society similar to that of a school or political organization. In this view of the church, the pastor should be "community-centered" in outlook and focus of activity, in contrast to the older, more conservative "church-centered" outlook.

One way, then, in which seminary students—pastors-to-be—may be classified is according to whether they are primarily church-centered¹ or commu-

nity-centered² in their emerging orientation. One may also expect some change on the part of many students from "church-centeredness" to "community-centeredness" during the course of their training in the present-day seminary. To facilitate, if not promote, such

ister is regarded as the messenger, prophet, and priest; the functions of the church are primarily liturgical and for the members and prospective members; and the Bible is the authority for an essentially personal religion. A. O. Olson uses the term "traditional" for this orientation, which he describes as "... activities centered about the church, its program, its expansion and effectiveness as ends in themselves ... promoters of an ecclesiastical enterprise ..." [Cf. "The Social Attitudes and Social Action of Some Ministers of the New York Conference of the Methodist Church" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Yale University, 1952), p. 5.]

² The community-centered orientation may be described as one in which the minister is regarded as leader, organizer, and administrator; the church looks for new ways to serve the people and meet the needs of the community; and the Bible is used to stimulate social concern. Olson (see citation in footnote 1) refers to this as "... activities designed to bring the ministry of the church as a leavening influence to the exterior world ... in the role of custodians of the community's moral and social health."

*A paper read at the annual meeting of the Rural Sociological Society, College Park, Md., Aug. 31, 1957. The data are from the writer's unpublished Ph.D. dissertation (Pennsylvania State University, June, 1956).

†Pfeiffer College, Misenheimer, N. C.

¹ The church-centered orientation may be further defined as one in which the min-

change is one purpose of courses such as "The Church and Community" which are now appearing in theology curricula. Such courses are in the area of applied sociology, with a strong "practical" slant.

The purpose of the present study was to identify some of the correlates of the church-centered and the community-centered orientation among male seminarians³ in eight Methodist graduate schools of theology,⁴ and to measure attitudinal change along the church-community continuum resulting from taking "The Church and Community" or a similar course⁵ in the seminary. Those taking the course are compared in each seminary with a control group of students taking a course in church history or Bible.

HYPOTHESES

The general hypotheses of the study are that the extent of students' church-centered or community-centered orientation varies with their education and their social and theological background,

³ A *seminarian* is a seminary student. A *seminary* is a divinity school or theological school offering a course of studies primarily for the training of ministers and admitting only students who have the bachelor of arts degree or its academic equivalent. Such schools confer the bachelor of divinity or bachelor of sacred theology degree at the end of the course (three years), and may make provision for advanced study leading to higher theological degrees. [See O. H. Baker, "Protestant Theological Education," *Higher Education*, IX:18 (May 15, 1953), p. 208.]

⁴ Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Illinois; the Iliff School of Theology, Denver, Colorado; Wesley Theological Seminary, Westminster, Maryland; and the seminaries of the following universities: Boston, Southern Methodist, Emory, Duke, and Southern California. The four largest are Garrett, Boston, Southern Methodist, and Emory, with enrollments of 400 or more. The other four have enrollments under 250.

⁵ In the two seminaries where the community course was not offered, a course in "Social Ethics" and one in "Field Work" were substituted.

and that this orientation will change in the direction of community-centeredness as a result of taking the course. In null form, the following specific hypotheses may be stated:

1. There are no differences in the extent of church-centered or community-centered orientation between:
 - a. Those reared in the country or in small towns (under 10,000 population) and those reared in cities (population 10,000 and over).
 - b. Those in seminaries in the South and those in seminaries in the North.
 - c. Those in large seminaries (enrollment 400 or more) and those in small ones (enrollment under 250).
 - d. Those who have had experience as pastors and those who have not.
 - e. Those whose pastoral experience (if any) was in the country or small towns, and those whose pastoral experience was in cities.
 - f. Those who are younger (25 years or less) and those who are older (over 25).
 - g. Those who have served in the armed forces and those who have not.
 - h. Those whose average college grade was "A," those whose average was "B," and those whose average was "C."
 - i. Those in each of the three years of the seminary course.
 - j. Those who graduated from church colleges and those who graduated from other colleges.
 - k. Those who graduated from colleges with less than 1,000 enrollment and those who graduated from larger colleges.
1. Those who had an undergraduate major in the social sciences and those with some other major.

2. Taking a course on "The Church and Community"⁸ has no significant effect on the extent of church-centered or community-centered orientation of seminarians.
3. Changes in orientation, if any, resulting from taking the course are no more extensive:
 - a. Among those in classes where there is greater student participation than in classes where such participation is less prevalent.
 - b. Among those who rate themselves as community-centered and those who do not.
 - c. Among those who are younger (25 years or less) and those who are older (over 25).
 - d. Among those in larger classes and those in smaller classes.
 - e. Among those in classes with one kind of course content and those in classes with another kind.
 - f. Among those in classes where the instructor has had long pastoral and teaching experience and those in classes where the instructor has had less such experience.

CONSTRUCTION OF THE MINISTER'S ATTITUDE SCALE

Since there is no standardized instrument for measuring ministers' attitudes along the continuum of community-centeredness—church-centeredness, the author found it necessary to construct an attitude scale. In developing the scale, he had in mind Leary's findings which suggest the need for attitude scales having greater specificity of content, so that they can serve better as predictors of social behavior.⁹ He also took into consideration Mead's

suggestions concerning needed attitude research and its application.⁸

The decision to construct a ministers' attitude scale involves the assumption that attitudes can be measured, and that adequate techniques for constructing such an instrument are available. Thurstone and Chave's technique of equal-appearing intervals⁹ was chosen, on the basis of the following statement by Remmers:

The attitude scaling technique developed by Thurstone is theoretically and logically the best procedure yet devised for obtaining valid and reliable measures of psychological variables that are highly important, especially in the general field of social-psychological phenomena¹⁰

This technique involves major use of "judges" who rate statements according to the position they believe they represent along a continuum. The present application of the technique assumes that the continuum of church-community orientation is real and meaningful, and that the judges who were used were capable of identifying positions along it.

Attitude statements concerning the role of the minister and the function of the church in the community were collected from various sources. The judges were asked to rate the statements along the continuum by assigning values from 1 to 11; the lower values represented church-centeredness, and the higher values community-centeredness. Persons serving as judges were ministers, teachers, and graduate students in education and sociology; they included various denominations and ages.

⁸ A. R. Mead, "Research about Attitudes: A Memorandum," *Journal of Educational Research*, Vol. 48 (Nov., 1954), p. 233.

⁹ L. L. Thurstone and E. J. Chave, *The Measurement of Attitude* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1929); and L. W. Ferguson, *Personality Measurement* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1952).

¹⁰ H. H. Remmers, *Introduction to Opinion and Attitude Measurement* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1954).

⁸ Or the similar course in the two seminaries not having the community course.

⁹ W. G. Leary, "The Context of Assertions as a Determinant of Attitudinal Responses" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Stanford University, 1953).

TABLE 1. DIFFERENCE IN SCORES ON MINISTER'S ATTITUDE SCALE BETWEEN MINISTERS RATED BY CHURCH OFFICIALS AS CHURCH-CENTERED AND THOSE RATED AS COMMUNITY-CENTERED

Attitude as rated by church officials	Mean score on attitude scale	S. D.	t
Church-centered..... (N = 38)	6.04	.499	*9.51
Community-centered..... (N = 54)	7.01	.452	

*Significant beyond the .05-level of confidence.

After the median scale value and semi-interquartile range were determined for each statement, ambiguous items of a high Q-value were discarded. Of the original 223 statements, 140 were retained. These were one-fifth neutral, two-fifths church-centered, and two-fifths community-centered.

In order to test the reliability and validity of the scale, the 140-item version was administered by mail to Methodist ministers in central Pennsylvania. The continuum was not mentioned to them. The 92 ministers who returned the questionnaire (75 per cent of those to whom it was sent) were then rated by church officials as being either church-centered or community-centered in their orientation, on the basis of criteria supplied by the researcher. The difference in attitude scores between the two categories of ministers thus established was in the expected direction and was significant beyond the .05-level of confidence ($t = 7.83$), thus providing evidence for the validity of the scale.

To test reliability, separate scores were computed for the odd-numbered and even-numbered items in the scale, and for the first seventy and the second seventy. The Pearson Product Moment method and Spearman-Brown formula were used in comparing the two sets of scores, with the following coefficients resulting: $r = +.71$ for the alternate forms and $r = +.73$ for the split halves. This would seem to indicate an acceptable degree of reliability.

Next, the scale was further revised

by discarding 40 additional items that had high Q-values or were answered similarly by both categories of ministers. The 92 ministers were then re-scored on the basis of the remaining 100 items. The difference in mean scores was again significant, with a higher t-value (Table 1). With the addition of background questions and a question asking the respondent to rate himself as basically community-centered or church-centered in his approach to the ministry, the questionnaire was ready for administration in the eight seminaries.

SAMPLE AND ADMINISTRATION

Early in the spring semester, the questionnaire was administered to 450 seminarians in the eight schools. In each seminary, there was an experimental group consisting of the students enrolled in "The Church and the Community" (or the similar courses, in two schools) and a control group consisting of a class in church history or Bible.

After an interval of nine weeks, the same form of the scale was administered in the same groups. This second questionnaire was printed on paper of a different color and had some additional questions at the beginning, on course content and teaching methods of instructors. In this second administration, 326 completed questionnaires were obtained. The instructors in the courses were also asked to complete this form of the questionnaire and to answer additional questions as to their teaching and pastoral experience.

FINDINGS: CHARACTERISTICS RELATED TO ATTITUDE¹¹

1. a. Seminarians reared in cities were significantly¹² ($t = 2.09$) more community-centered than those reared in the country or in small towns.
- b. Those attending seminaries in the North were significantly ($t = 5.17$) more community-centered than those attending in the South.
- c. There was no significant difference between those in the larger seminaries and those in the smaller ones, although those in large seminaries had slightly ($t = .51$) higher (more community-centered) scores.
- d. There was no significant difference between those serving pastorates and those not, although those with pastorates had slightly ($t = .60$) higher (more community-centered) scores.
- e. There was no significant difference between those serving pastorates in towns or country and those having pastorates in the city or no pastorates, although the latter had slightly ($t = 1.21$) higher scores.
- f. There was no significant difference between older and younger seminarians, although the younger ones had slightly ($t = .95$) higher scores.
- g. There was no significant difference between those who had served in the armed forces and those who had not, but the former had somewhat ($t = 1.14$) higher scores.
- h. Those who reported an average college grade of "A" were significantly more community-centered than those reporting a "B" average; but the difference

between the "B" and the "C" students was not significant ($t = 1.92$), though in the same direction.

- i. Third-year seminarians were significantly more community-centered than second- and first-year men; second-year men were least community-centered (F -ratio, based on 3 classes, = 32.09).
- j. Seminarians who graduated from non-church-related colleges were significantly ($t = 2.77$) more community-centered than those from church colleges.¹³
- k. There was no significant difference between those who graduated from large colleges and those from small ones, although those from larger colleges had somewhat higher scores ($t = 1.77$).
- l. Those with undergraduate social science majors were significantly ($t = 2.10$) more community-centered than others.

FINDINGS: CHANGES IN ATTITUDE¹⁴

2. In the original testing, there was no significant difference ($t = 1.93$) in scores between the attitudes of the experimental and control groups, although the experimental group (those taking the community course or a similar one) had somewhat higher scores. On the retest scores (Table 2), there was a significant difference ($t = 3.70$); the experimental group was more

¹³ Methodist seminaries recruit approximately 46 per cent of their students from Methodist colleges, 25 per cent from private institutions or denominational colleges other than Methodist, 18 per cent from tax-supported institutions, and the remainder elsewhere. Denominational colleges—especially those with small enrollments and with a traditional environment of conformity—have an effect of informal control upon students and tend to narrow the attitudes of students preparing for the ministry.

¹⁴ Numbers and letters correspond to those of the hypotheses.

¹¹ Numbers and letters correspond to those of the hypotheses.

¹² Wherever statistical significance is reported, it is at the .05-level of confidence or beyond.

TABLE 2. DIFFERENCES IN ORIGINAL AND RETEST SCORES ON MINISTER'S ATTITUDE SCALE, FOR EXPERIMENTAL AND CONTROL GROUPS

Group and test		Mean score on attitude scale	S. D.	t
Experimental	original..... (N = 210)	7.04	.576	*4.24
	retest..... (N = 210)	7.16	.530	
Control	original..... (N = 159)	6.90	.993	-.10
	retest..... (N = 116)	6.89	.678	

*Significant beyond the .05-level of confidence.

community-centered. Furthermore, the community-centeredness of the experimental group, already greater than that of the control group, increased slightly but significantly ($t = 4.24$) between the two testings, while the scores of the control group remained practically unchanged (though a fourth of the original control group did not respond on the retest).

3. a. Of the eight seminary classes in the experimental group, all three of those in which discussion and student reports made up 35 per cent or more of the course content had higher scores in the retest. Of the other five classes, in which lectures made up more than 65 per cent of the content, two had higher retest scores and three did not. None of the gains in scores for individual classes were statistically significant, however.
- b. Seminarians who in the first test rated themselves community-centered scored significantly higher ($t = 3.79$) in community-centeredness in the retest than did those who did not rate themselves community-centered. Those who rated themselves community-centered in either test scored significantly higher ($t = 7.26$) than those who did not rate themselves community-centered in either test.¹⁵

- c. There was no significant difference in the retest scores of seminarians under 25 years of age and those 25 or more ($t = .42$).
- d. Of the eight seminary classes in the experimental group, those with 20 or more students were the most likely to have higher retest scores. Five out of six of these larger classes had higher scores, while both of the classes with fewer than 20 students had lower retest scores. These gains and losses were not statistically significant, however.
- e. All the experimental classes in which half or more of the course was devoted to community subject matter had higher average retest scores, but three of the four classes with less community content had lower scores on the retest. Of the seven classes reporting 20 per cent or more of the course content on the role of the minister and church, five had higher scores on the retest and two lower. The one class having less of this content had lower retest scores. Of the six classes reporting under 20 per cent of the content devoted to social and ministerial ethics, five gained in retest scores, while the two that had more of this content had

¹⁵ Biserual correlation was used to test the relationship of the self-ratings and scores on the original test, resulting in an r_{bi} of .28.

For the association of a self-rating of community-centeredness on either test and a scale score indicating community-centeredness, $r_{bi} = .40$. These relationships provide further validation of the scale.

TABLE 3. MEAN SCORES OF SEMINARIANS AND THEIR INSTRUCTORS ON THE MINISTER'S ATTITUDE SCALE, FOR SMALL AND LARGE SEMINARIES AND EXPERIMENTAL AND CONTROL GROUPS

Size of seminary* and type of group	Seminarians		Instructors	
	Number	Score	Number**	Score
Large seminaries:				
Experimental.....	124	7.09	4	7.62
Control.....	58	6.76	3	7.11
Small seminaries:				
Experimental.....	86	7.26	3	7.16
Control.....	58	7.03	3	6.70
All.....	326	7.07	13	7.17

*Large = enrollment over 400; small = enrollment less than 250.

**Three instructors did not reply.

lower retest scores. The changes were not all significant, however.

- f. More of the experimental classes taught by experienced instructors—those who had taught 10 or more years, had taught the course 10 or more times, and had served as pastors 10 or more years—had higher retest scores than of the classes taught by less experienced instructors. The changes in scores were not all significant. The more experienced instructors also had higher scores on the scale than did the other instructors. But all instructors reported that this course was one of those they most liked to teach.

INSTRUCTORS' AND STUDENTS' SCORES COMPARED

In the retest the mean scores of instructors¹⁸ were higher than those of their students in both experimental and control classes in large seminaries, and in experimental classes in small seminaries. Only in the control group in small seminaries was the reverse true—instructors were more church-centered than the seminarians (Table 3).

¹⁸ Instructors were included only in the retest.

CONCLUSIONS

The findings of the study provide some guidance as to the objective characteristics which identify seminary graduates more likely to have community-centered attitudes and those more likely to have church-centered attitudes. Furthermore, they indicate that, if seminaries or church authorities wish to increase community-centeredness, they will offer more courses similar to "The Church and Community"; if they desire to increase church-centeredness, they will emphasize courses such as Church History or Bible.

The present study constitutes only a beginning and suggests several further studies that would be desirable. There is need for a longitudinal study of attitudinal changes over the three years of the seminary. A study parallel to the present one might be conducted among women seminary students, since the Methodist Church now offers increasing status and opportunities to women ministers. The questionnaires returned by 14 female seminarians in classes included in the present study were not included in the analysis, but the women's mean scores were higher than

those of the males (7.42 compared to 7.01).

There is a need for attitude scales to measure other phases of the Protestant ministry than those considered here.

Further studies in various phases of theological education are needed to analyze the relationship of the minister's task in the community and what is taught in the seminaries.

THE RELATION OF DATA TO THEORY

by Roy G. Francis†

ABSTRACT

Problems of data, problems of form, and problems of theory are discussed in examining the relation of data and theory.

Data-collecting techniques make commitments to theory. Inferences regarding behavior in social systems from data based on mere geographic area are unwarranted, since the data exclude sociological premises.

The form of statement for quantitative data may vary in scope from descriptive summary to the mathematical model. A mathematical or logical model becomes a theoretical model when all terms are connected to theory and operationally defined.

Group and structure must be distinguished, and these manifest different kinds of cohesiveness, as illustrated in certain problems in the study of migration.

Since only data statements are directly apprehended, theory is logically prior to data.

This paper is offered as a contribution to general sociological theory and method. Its origin was in the author's work as a member of the Population Subcommittee of the North Central Rural Sociology Committee, and the author has had the benefit of suggestions and reactions by the members of that subcommittee. The illustrations used relate to migration data and theory, but the problem is a general one.

PROBLEMS OF DATA

To a very large extent, the data to which the sociologist addresses himself when he is studying migration are from the United States Census. And because most of the data do not report the behavior of individuals but are summary statements for counties, certain things happen to the data and, hence, to the type of theory which can emerge. A tradition in sociology seems to compel certain writers to discuss individuals rather than the behavior of groups; and, as W. S. Robinson has pointed out, it is inappropriate to use county-level data to draw inferences about individuals.¹ He shows that,

when the *percentage of a population* which is illiterate is compared with the percentage which is Negro, there is a high "ecological" correlation—in his example, .946. But when the association of race and literacy is measured among *individual* Negroes and whites, the correlation drops to .203—a remarkable and important drop. Robinson develops a mathematical exposition of the relationship between "the individual correlation" and "the ecological correlation," then says further:

The relation between ecological and individual correlations which is discussed in this paper provides a definite answer as to whether ecological correlations can validly be used as substitutes for individual correlations. They cannot. While it is theoretically possible for the two to be equal, the conditions under which this can happen are far removed from those ordinarily encountered in data. From a practical standpoint, therefore, the only reasonable assumption is that an ecological correlation is almost certainly not equal to its corresponding individual correlation.

I am aware that this conclusion has serious consequences, and that its effect appears wholly negative because it throws serious doubt upon the validity of a number of important studies made in recent years. The purpose of this paper will have been accomplished, however, if it prevents the future computation of meaningless correlations and

†University of Minnesota, St. Paul, Minn.

¹ W. S. Robinson, "Ecological Correlations and the Behavior of Individuals," *American Sociological Review*, XV:3 (June, 1950), pp. 351-357.

*stimulates the study of similar problems with the use of meaningful correlations between the properties of individuals.*² [Italics inserted by the author of the present paper.]

The present writer does not agree with Robinson's suggestion that only correlations between the properties of individuals are meaningful; the point is rather the confusion and misuses that exist in attempts at sociological measurement. Careful consideration of Robinson's own example will show that the error results from a failure to see that describing a county is quite different from describing an individual. The high correlation between the percentage of a county's population that is illiterate and the percentage that is Negro does not allow one to conclude that the individual who is illiterate is Negro. In certain areas of the South that have high proportions of Negroes, the upper- and middle-class whites may be willing to sacrifice the education of the "poor white trash" and allow them to remain as illiterate as the Negroes in the locality.

The error, then, is mainly one of theory—the failure to see that the "ecological" and the "individual" correlations are measures of two completely different aspects of human behavior. It is this failure that results in unwarranted inferences.

Another aspect of the problem of data concerns the nature of the ecological unit used in data collection and measurement. Sometimes the unit is merely a convenient geographic aggregate. At other times it may represent a social system, and, in varying degree, measurement in or of a social system may be possible. How the variable is regarded determines the inferences which legitimately may be drawn.

To what extent the county may be regarded as a social system is not entirely clear. Despite empirical research on the social organization of the coun-

ty, not much is known regarding the county as an integrated system of statuses and roles. Typically, the county social organization study does not go much beyond reporting the number and types of organizations which exist within the boundaries and describing the behavior of the members of the various organizations. Practically nothing has been done on the county as a social system.³

Yet the county appears to have some social significance. A set of elective officers is identified with the county. Especially in more rural areas, references are made to the county of residence or of birth. True, the social control of the *local community* is probably much more efficacious in determining behavior than is the county. In certain respects, also, the state and the nation represent cultural systems that are more significant than the county. Nonetheless, the county is *real*. It is sufficiently real to be *named*. Having a name, it enters into the thought processes of individuals and becomes a determinant of behavior in its own right.⁴

But what about an agglomeration of counties which are similar with respect to a set of characteristics such as the percentage of farms operated by tenants, the percentage of farms with electricity, and the like? Are "economic areas" and "economic subregions" social systems or are they operational artifacts—mere nominal configurations which exist only in the inferences drawn by the scientist? It would seem that their reality as social systems must be denied, despite whatever interaction occurs within their borders.

³ Even such studies as the one on Goodhue County, Minnesota, do not get at the county as a social unit. (Cf. Frank D. Alexander and Lowry Nelson, *Rural Social Organization in Goodhue County, Minnesota*, Minnesota AES Bull. 401 [St. Paul, 1949].)

⁴ This suggests the line of inquiry pursued by John H. Kolb, of the University of Wisconsin.

² *Ibid.*, p. 357.

They have only nominal status. Yet they are used in research on migration, and consequences to theory must result. Jehlik and Wakeley, for example, assert that

Many states include within their boundaries areas of widely varying characteristics, and the boundaries of areas with similar characteristics often overlap state lines. Therefore, it is more meaningful to have analyses done on an area basis, such as a subregion, because the geographic universe under study and the interplay between the components of change usually cross state lines.⁵

The notion of a social system as an integrated system of beliefs, practices, customs, aspirations, statuses, and roles is completely absent in the citation. The implication seems to be that the social system of which the migrant is a member is unimportant in determining his behavior as a migrant, and that the migrant is an individual actor "free" from all other actors in the situation—that there are forces working on him but social organization is not among them.

The writer does not wish to impute a theoretical position to the authors cited, but the statement does not seem consistent with modern sociological theory, which requires the location of an individual in a group. It is more consistent with seventeenth-century psychology as evidenced in Malthus.⁶ Migration, in sociological terms, involves not only the movement of the person from one area to another but a change of positions in his group and a move from one subsystem into another.

Hence, any inference regarding behavior in social systems from data based on geographic area is gratuitous

and unwarranted. Indeed, no sociological inferences are possible since the data exclude sociological premises. Any statement which seems to be sociological flows not from the data but exists merely as an assertion. Nor can this be regarded as a simple clustering of items for statistical sampling. Nowhere in sampling theory does one find the requirement of geographic contiguity as a criterion of appropriately clustered units.

These are strong words. But strong words are needed. The characteristic of much contemporary demographic research is a blatant nominalism which has no real identification with sociological theory. Despite attempts to relate "factors" to migration, nothing theoretical can be tested if the fundamental data are defined in nonsociological terms. Even the most high-powered mathematical equation can do no more than summarize data if a genuine theory is absent.

PROBLEMS OF FORM

A review of the literature reveals a trend toward more and more *generality* in the theoretical basis for research, but most recent work in migration has been restricted to the level of associating factors with each other. Some mathematical models for research have been attempted, but the empirical work has been done independently and outside the scope of the models—as well as outside the general field of sociology. Any relation between Anderson's comparison of Zipf and Stouffer and the work of an important theorist like Durkheim would be *ad hoc* and strained.⁷

The question which must be resolved before explicit effort can be made to remove the difficulties mentioned is

⁵ Paul J. Jehlik and Ray E. Wakeley, *Population Change and Net Migration in the North Central States, 1940-50*, North Central Reg. Pub. No. 56; also Iowa AES Rsch. Bull. 430 (Ames, 1955), p. 490.

⁶ Cf. Roy G. Francis, *Mathematical Analysis of Birth Order Data for Minnesota, 1941-1950*, Minnesota AES Tech. Bull. 216 (St. Paul, 1955), p. 5.

⁷ Theodore R. Anderson, "Intermetropolitan Migration: A Comparison of the Hypotheses of Zipf and Stouffer," *American Sociological Review*, XX:3 (June, 1955), pp. 287-291.

this: What is the relation between theory and data?

The goal of science has been asserted to be that of developing theory; and theory has been defined as a "generalization of a high order which, in some sense, explains observed phenomena."⁸ Theory, in this sense, is bound by a "real world of essentially kickable facts," but has the logical character of being general. This implies that it is possible to assert rules by which one can judge a statement about the world to be false.⁹

Scientific propositions may exist on at least two levels of generality. Actually, there are a variety of levels of generality; certain types of generality will not be called theoretical, because "theory explains observed phenomena." One statement can be more general than another and still have no explanatory power if it merely summarizes a host of less general statements.

Consider the statement, "John Smith moved from Wadena County to Waseca County in June, 1949." This comes close to being an atomic proposition regarding migration, though a set of sentences can be given from which this can be deduced. (This would require statements about residence, and a definition of *moved* that would enable one to infer the given proposition.) In any event, it is less general than the assertion, "Ten per cent of the people in this county lived elsewhere a year ago." This latter assertion, however, is not a theoretical statement; it is a *summary statement* based on a series of assertions of the first kind.

Compare this with the statement, "Urban counties gained more people proportionately through migration than

did rural counties." Because of the familiarity of the rural-urban continuum concept, this sentence seems to strive toward theoretical generality. However, it is merely a summary statement, also. Only if offered in a context which, by rules of logic, requires it to be true can the statement be called theoretical. On the other hand, it is undoubtedly more general than the second illustration.

Now consider the statement, "Age is a factor in migration differentials." The meaning given this assertion follows from a rather complex argument, but the complexity of the argument is no insurance of theoretical generality. For one thing, the statement means that, when people are categorized according to age, certain age groups have a disproportionate number of migrants. Ordinarily, this means that the null hypothesis asserting expected frequencies according to the laws of chance has been rejected under the rules of statistical inference at an arbitrary level of confidence. Quite innocently, many believe that the statements "chance has been rejected as an explanation of migration" and "age is at least a partial explanation" are equivalent in meaning.

In a limited sense, of course, this is true. But, unless an assertion is in a theoretical framework, it is simply descriptive or a summary of data, since its scope is limited to the immediate data. In particular, until age is shown to be a measure of some sociological variable, it has no theoretical relevance in a sociological argument.

Following is a more precise example: Let X denote age and Y denote the number of migrants; for $20 < X < 50$, the relation between X and Y is linear, such that $Y = a - bX$. Here is an extremely precise statement. A relation between age and migration is asserted to exist. The form is asserted to be linear; the direction, negative. The range of ages for which the assertion

⁸ John Doby et al. (eds.), *An Introduction to Social Research* (Harrisburg, Pa.: Stackpole Press, 1954), p. 6.

⁹ Modern statistical argument goes further. One attempts to assert the probability of having committed an error in the scientific decision.

is hypothetically true is stated. Verification is possible; so is falsification. Apparently the statement is a hypothesis in mathematical form.

Yet it, too, is limited in scope. It suffers from the precise defect of the previous example about age. Unless age is defined in a sociologically relevant context, this assertion is a summary of data, although it is of a higher order of generality than other summary statements. That is not the real issue. The point is that *generality requires identification of theory and operation*. Except for explaining variance in Y, the linear relation need not be considered an explanation at all. The context in which it can exist as a theoretical proposition is one in which a set of premises requires the inference of a linear relation.

Implicit in this discussion has been a typology of uses of mathematical forms in theory construction. In the order of least-to-greatest scope, the types are: the summary statement, the arithmetic model, and the mathematical model. When one has two sets of data—both essentially quantitative—it is no difficult task to *fit a curve*. Ordinarily, a scatter diagram would be made and a tentative curve plotted. However, it is easier to compute a linear relation; so this is often the first step. For any curve, the least squares solution offers a set of criteria with which one necessarily gets the "best line" of its type.¹⁰ Though the relation might in fact be curvilinear, the least squares equations for a straight line will give one the "best possible straight line." Of course, it is possible to test whether a curved line reduces variance sufficiently for one to reject a straight line "fit."¹¹ Too

much emphasis ought not to be placed upon reduction of variance as the best criterion, since a complex line fitted through every point would reduce variance to zero—but would be too complex to allow even an *ad hoc* interpretation. Simplicity of argument is also a criterion of merit.

After linear relations have been reported in several researches, there begins to be an expectation that the same form of relation will be found in other analyses. Thus, without once asking, "Why do we get a straight line?," one can, from research, develop an *arithmetic model* of linearity. Since its linearity is a function of the operations performed on data, the arithmetic model is simply a summary of data. On the other hand, an arithmetic model may pose a question (*ad hoc* or otherwise) as to the justification of its existence. When the terms of the arithmetic model are named and justified in an immediate context, we may speak of a *mathematical model*. The reader will immediately consider the migration models of Zipf and Stouffer.

Naming parameters and variables and justifying a form constitute a basis for the mathematical model; but that is no guarantee of theoretical generality. The model may make sense only for a limited segment of the problems of the field in which it exists. This is true of the Zipf model, and those subsequent to it. They, too, lack generality and are not tied into theoretical dimensions of a wider range of applicability.

The mathematical form is not the only form a model can take. Variables can exist in other than quantitative definition. There is the *logical model*, usually represented in the form of the hypothesis: If A, then B. Subimplication, contrariety, and contradiction are all equally possible, though not necessarily equally probable. These, too, may be generated on an *ad hoc* level,

¹⁰ Cf. Mordecai Ezekiel, *Methods of Correlation Analysis* (2nd ed.; New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1941). This is still the "classical" treatment of correlation, although there has been a spurt of model building since its publication.

¹¹ By an *F*-ratio.

or may exist in the premises of a theory which requires their inference.

If the model—logical or mathematical—is such that all terms (including constants and variables) are connected to theory and are operationally defined, we speak of a *theoretical model*.¹² Again, the difference between this and the mathematical or logical model is one of *scope*. This is a major difference, which has important implications.

It is true that the mathematical model is precise and can be precisely falsified. But the variables employed in its construction need have no general reference; they need refer only to the type of data at hand. The theoretical model, on the other hand, requires a set of variables which are *generally* appropriate (i.e., are appropriate to a set of models, logical as well as mathematical). Although specific inferences (which generate specific models) can be precisely tested, the scope of the theoretical argument is so general as to preclude a general empirical test. Only specific inferences may be tested.

This, in turn, implies that no theory stands or falls on any single piece of research, except for the "fundamental experiment" in which primitive notions are directly tested. Generally speaking, theory is broad and includes a wide variety of empirical instances. Though falsification of an implication of a theoretical argument suggests the need for modification of the theory, verification of any aspect of a theory does not mean that the theory *in toto* has been verified. In other words, it is inappropriate to require a complete test of theory in any empirical research. At the same time, care must be taken to indicate the theoretical rel-

evance of each measure employed and the methodological design incorporated into the research, as well as of the substantive hypothesis to be tested. The null hypothesis is generic to empirical research and seldom exists as a theoretical alternative to hypotheses of content. Unless substantive hypotheses are stated and their relevance is indicated, the structure of the over-all argument is obscure and too easily allows unwarranted assertions to have the apparent status of inference.

PROBLEMS OF THEORY

A basic tenet of sociology is that the individual exists as a part of group experience. Out of social interaction, which always involves an *other*, a social relationship emerges. The social relation involves obligations of the interactionists to each other. These become patterned as they persist through time, so that besides individuals in interaction—with whatever claims and obligations are personally developed between them—there now is a more or less permanent *structure* of the predominant relations. Thus, the sociologist is continuously faced with both group and structure.¹³

Group and structure both have their claims upon the individual. The ties which exist have been called *cohesiveness*, but there has been a failure to observe that there are, basically, two *kinds* of cohesiveness. The error probably is the result of considering Toennies' concepts *Gemeinschaft* (community) and *Gesellschaft* (society) as the opposite poles of a continuum. The most flagrant example of this error is perhaps that of Loomis and Beegle in *Rural Social Systems*.¹⁴ They state explicitly that the two kinds of cohesiveness are simply polar opposites in a

¹² For a fuller discussion of the distinction between the model and the fitted curve, see Roy G. Francis and Don A. Martindale, "The Scientific Status of Mathematical Models and Ideal Types as Illustrated in Demographic Research," *Alpha Kappa Delta*, XXV:3 (Spring, 1955), pp. 16-20.

¹³ This distinction was suggested to the writer by Gregory P. Stone.

¹⁴ Charles P. Loomis and J. Allan Beegle, *Rural Social Systems* (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1950).

continuum. The formulation in that volume is essentially not researchable. In one instance, the authors seem to argue that the basic continuum is made up of combinations of at least ten sub-continua.¹⁵ Further, each of these sub-continua is apparently divisible into at least ten distinguishable units. This implies that there are at least ten billion different types of a given social system. The empirical task of such a formulation is enormously formidable. But the rejection of the argument rests not upon the difficulty of testing it but on theoretical grounds: the Loomis and Beegle formulation overlooks the distinction between group and structure.¹⁶

The cohesiveness of the group is essentially *Gemeinschaft* in character; the cohesiveness of the structure, *Gesellschaft*. Any patterning of relations includes both. Thus, the local church involves *Gemeinschaft* bonds, in varying degrees, among the individuals as they interact as a group. But it is also structured; and the fact of structure imposes obligations of typical behavior upon its members. And clearly, some churches are more structured (and hence make more *Gesellschaft* claims upon their members) than others.

The problem of migration is not that of group behavior in general, but a more limited one: that of membership through fact of residence. The question becomes that of determining what variables, besides cohesiveness, are related to joining a pattern of relationship (in-migration) and leaving it (out-migration). Before this can be done, however, one must be aware of certain distinctions concerning the processes of joining and leaving groups and structures.

A person can leave a group, but he

cannot join it. He may aspire to membership in a group; but he can only become a member of the group. This implies a passage of time: becoming a member of a group is a social process. The usual word has been *assimilation*, with the alternatives of accommodation and adjustment. On the other hand, a person can both *join* and *leave* a structure. This is an event located in both time and space.

Except to make a particular group desirable, cohesiveness has no influence upon the process of *joining* a structure. Some other dimension is needed. One such dimension is that of attractiveness, or the importance of being a member of the group or structure. Thus, a person migrates into one structure rather than another because one is more attractive. This formulation must be modified to take into account the attainability of membership. Attractiveness, then, can "explain" motivation.

Moreover, attractiveness is a relative thing. And prior to out-migration, an individual may compare the attractiveness of his contemporary position with alternatives. If these alternatives are spatially arranged, he will probably move directly in proportion to the amount of attraction at point X, and inversely in proportion to the intervening attraction. The Stouffer hypothesis, then, can be a model which has a theoretical basis in attractiveness: opportunity may be a specific measure of the more general dimension.

A third major dimension is that of satisfaction—the degree to which a person's current group and/or structural membership satisfies his needs, real or felt, original or derived.¹⁷ This

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 813. But a list of 15 "hierarchical relations" (p. 790) suggests that the text is conservative in estimating the number of different types of social systems.

¹⁶ Elsewhere they seem to recognize the distinction—e.g., in their discussion of values.

¹⁷ This subject matter has become the province of "small group research," conducted by Festinger, Schachter, Emerson, Lewin, and others. Their contributions to the understanding of social cohesiveness are important in the study of migration.

is important only to members; those outside the structure cannot be satisfied by the processes involved in that structure, although they may develop anticipatory satisfaction and thus find the social unit attractive. Like cohesiveness, then, this dimension is more related to out-migration than to in-migration.

The major theoretical research problems involve the relations between these dimensions, *vis-à-vis* migration. With census material, it is hardly possible to assess attractiveness and satisfaction; these are subjective categories and require for their assessment knowledge of the specific individuals acting in the situation.

Since the county represents both a group and a structure, properly manipulated census materials allow the relation between group cohesiveness and structural cohesiveness to be stated empirically. A high degree of correlation would be expected, since there are no objective data to indicate an incipient revolt against the county structure.

Although cohesiveness is not directly related to in-migration, the fact of in-migration is related to the cohesiveness of the group. The kind and intensity of personal relations are affected by an influx of a large number of new members of a structure. One consequence may be the rejection of the newcomers by the group members, in which case the original group may become more cohesive in defense of itself. In many areas of in-migration, however, the usual expectation is that assimilation will take place. There may be some group defensiveness, but not a great deal. The permissiveness toward newcomers becoming members of the group results in a weakening of bonds until the assimilation is relatively complete. Hence, the larger the proportion of in-migrants in the population, the weaker the bonds of group cohesion.

If the county is a real social unit, one can expect to find a structure. There is, in any case, a political structure; and one can argue that structural cohesiveness is reflected in the degree of participation in county-level political affairs. A direct measure of this is the percentage of those eligible to vote who actually do so—the greater the structural bonds, the greater the percentage voting.

Empirically, then, the relation between group and structural cohesiveness (of the county) can be measured by the correlation between in-migration and voting. In a test of this relationship, the writer operationally defined the first variable as the number of in-migrants entering each county during the year prior to the 1950 census, divided by the number of members of the political structure (i.e., those eligible to vote). The second variable was operationally specified as the number of votes cast divided by the number of members of the political structure. The extraneous dimension, size of county, was controlled in the process of dividing to obtain rates of in-migration and voting. A fairly high correlation was found; $r = .80$, per cent of variation explained = 64. That the relation is linear supports the argument. That it is not perfect ought not to be surprising. The percentage of eligible voters who are in-migrants is not a perfect measure of cohesion.

Clearly, further empirical research is necessary, but this example should indicate how migration theory fits into general sociological theory—or how general sociological theory can be tested with data on migration. The findings, however, generate further observations which, in turn, raise significant theoretical issues. For example, in changing residence, one necessarily migrates from all groups in which he maintains face-to-face contact, though professional group membership and membership in various structures may

be maintained. The individual may migrate a long way and still retain membership in the structure of his church (but he leaves his group), or his lodge or labor union.

Previous research has shown that urban migrants tend to integrate more quickly (i.e., become members of groups more rapidly) than do rural ones.¹⁸ Is this because the urban dweller belongs to a larger number of structures which he does not leave upon migration than the rural dweller? Or is it because the urban way of life teaches the person a set of social skills necessary to integration?

A person belongs to a set of relations patterns, with attending groups and structures. The cohesiveness of these—their claim upon him—varies; he is “tied in” more to some than to others. What effect does this have upon his migration potential? If he belongs to a highly cohesive and satisfying lodge, but finds his economic status untenable, will he migrate? In short, is there a hierarchy of claims which the various groups have on the individual, and what is the order within the hierarchy? Theoretically, what ought to be expected by way of differential claims upon the individual? With reference to the problem of out-migration, does group cohesiveness outweigh dissatisfaction with the structure?

¹⁸ E.g., Samuel W. Blizard and Macklin E. John, *Social Participation Patterns of Husbands and Wives Who Are Migrants in the City*, Pennsylvania State College AES Paper No. 1722, Journal Series (State College, 1952). Their research conforms well to what their review of the literature revealed. (See their footnote 2.)

These and other questions cannot be answered here. They are not answerable from existing literature, nor from existing public data. The answers must depend upon specifically designed research projects. But it is clear that subsequent research, if it is to contribute to the solution of theoretical problems, must flow from these questions.

CONCLUSION

The relation between data and theory is not simple and direct. Techniques of measurement are also techniques of assembling and reporting data, and techniques make theoretical commitments and, hence, can alter data. Moreover, data are not allowed to “speak for themselves”; they are joined together in ways such as to force a certain conclusion. Data and form are thus intrinsic issues in theory building. The logical sequence is from theory to data—not from data to theory; for there is no way to verify inferences drawn from the latter formulation.

Deductive logic permits a testing of inferences from theory to data. To those trained in logic, the reason should be clear: data are immediately available and data statements can be falsified. Theory is not immediately present to the scientist; hence, theory statements themselves can not be directly falsified. If, however, a data statement deduced from a theory statement is falsified, the theory statement itself is falsified. This being so, theory must be regarded as being logically prior to the data it encompasses.

RESEARCH NOTES

PERSONALITY CORRELATES OF THE ADOPTION OF TECHNOLOGICAL PRACTICES*

by Everett M. Rogers†

Rural sociologists have been concerned with the sociological, sociopsychological, and cultural variables that are associated with the adoption of technological innovations in farming. The adoption process has been described as a series of stages, a concept contrary to that of adoption as a unit act. Group influences and economic motivations have been found to influence farm operators' adoption decisions. However, it would seem logical to suggest that the farmer's personality may also play an important role in the interpretive process which forms the core of the adoption process.

The purpose of this paper is to present some findings from an exploratory study dealing with the relationship between certain personality characteristics and the adoption of farm practices. Data were obtained in 1957 by personal interviews with a sample of 23 farm operators residing in a central Iowa rural community.

An adoption-of-farm-practices scale was administered to the respondents. The scale scores were based on whether or not the respondents had adopted 24 practices recommended by the Iowa Extension Service during recent years.¹ There is evidence that this scale not only measures the number of farm practices adopted but also the relative time at which an individual tends to adopt new technological practices.² Hence, it can be used to categorize farmers as "innovators," "adoption leaders," "early majority," "late majority," or "laggards," according to their typical adoption pattern.

A personality characteristic which one might expect to be positively related to adoption is knowledge of new farm practices. A farmer does not adopt a new practice until he (1) receives information about

the existence of the new practice and (2) gains knowledge about the specific details, such as how much to use and where to obtain needed materials. An awareness knowledge index was developed to measure knowledge of the existence of some very new farm practices. An adoption knowledge index was constructed to measure knowledge of the specific details about the practices in the adoption scale.

The correlation between the awareness knowledge scores and adoption scores was +.31, and between the adoption knowledge scores and adoption scores, +.41. These apparent relationships are in the expected direction but the coefficients are not statistically significant, perhaps due to the small number of cases. Since some other variables were found to be significantly associated with adoption, one may wonder why the relationships here were not significant. However, there seems to be some evidence that many farmers adopt "blindly" or on the basis of very limited information. Anderson reported, for example, that 38 per cent of the fertilizer adopters in Iowa did not know what the formula 4-16-8 meant.³

The concept of personality rigidity has been defined by Cattell and Tiner⁴ as the difficulty with which old established habits may be changed in the presence of new demands. Meresko and others⁵ defined rigidity as "a person's resistance, or lack of readiness, to be influenced by motivationally relevant stimulation in such a way as to adjust to his environment as effectively as his behavior-repertoire permits." Social psychologists have been attempting to study the interrelationships between various devices that were designed to measure rigidity, and have generally concluded that a common factor of rigidity does not exist.

If a valid means of measuring rigidity could be developed, this index might be expected to be negatively related to adoption. The highly rigid individual would tend to cling to old ideas and hence display

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†Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio.

¹The actual items included in this adoption scale and each of the personality scales mentioned in this article are available upon request from the author.

²For this evidence and a discussion of the reliability and validity of the scale, see Everett M. Rogers, "A Conceptual Variable Analysis of Technological Change" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Iowa State College, 1957).

³Marvin A. Anderson, "Factors Affecting Acceptance and Use of Fertilizer on Iowa Farms" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Iowa State College, 1955), p. 56.

⁴R. B. Cattell and L. Ghose Tiner, "The Variates of Structural Rigidity," *Journal of Personality*, XVII:3 (June, 1949), pp. 321-341.

⁵Robert Meresko et al., "Rigidity of Attitudes Regarding Personal Habits and Its Ideological Correlates," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, XXXIX:1 (Jan., 1954), pp. 89-93.

a greater resistance to change. Copp⁶ reported a highly significant relationship between his measure of rigidity and adoption. A coefficient of reproducibility of 91 per cent was obtained in the present study when items rather similar to those used by Copp were subjected to a Guttman scale analysis. Correlation between the rigidity scores and adoption scores is $-.56$, which is highly significant.

A distinction has been made in recent years by Rokeach⁷ between the concept of *dogmatism* and that of *rigidity*. Dogmatism was distinguished as "a higher-order and more completely organized form of resistance to change." The ten items from Rokeach's dogmatism index that he found correlated most highly with the total dogmatism scores were used in the present study. The correlation with adoption was $-.15$, which is in the expected direction but not significant.

An attitude toward some type of behavior is expected to be related to that actual behavior, insofar as an attitude is indicative of a predisposition to behave. Various researchers have reported that *change orientation* is related to actual adoption of practices. In the present study, a change orientation scale was constructed to measure the general attitude toward new technological practices. The coefficient of reproducibility is 92 per cent, which indicates a unidimensional scale. Correlation between the change orientation scores and adoption scores is $+.43$, which is significant.

Another similar attitudinal measure was obtained from the respondents as one of the four scales included in the Straus Rural Attitudes Profile.⁸ The *innovative proneness* scale is said to indicate "an interest in and a desire to seek out changes in farming techniques and introduce such changes in . . . [the farming] operation when practical." Correlation between the SRAP innovative proneness scores and adoption scores is $+.44$, which is significant.

It is possible that an individual's self-rating of his adoption behavior may in some cases provide a more meaningful categorization than a more objective measure of

his actual adoption. The respondents in the present study were asked to indicate whether they were: behind the average, average, ahead of the average, or far ahead of the average in adopting new farm practices. Correlation between the self-ratings and adoption scores is $+.69$, which is highly significant. Apparently farmers are able to perceive their adoption self-rating with some degree of accuracy.

Of the seven personality variables that were studied as they related to adoption, only rigidity, change orientation, innovative proneness, and adoption self-ratings were found to be significantly related. Not significantly related to adoption scores were dogmatism and two measures of knowledge. The general conclusion is that certain personality variables are related to adoption, although the exploratory nature of the study and the small sample make it necessary that this finding be regarded as tentative.⁹

⁹ Pretest data obtained from a group of veterans enrolled in On-Farm Training classes did not yield findings completely similar to those reported here. This may be due partly to differences between the two samples.

AN INDEX OF RELIGIOUS GROUP ACTION*

by John S. Holik†

This paper briefly describes the methods and statistical techniques used in constructing an index of "religious group action," one phase of a study of rural churches conducted by the Department of Rural Sociology, University of Missouri.¹

A technical committee guiding the overall study listed 11 specific functions of the church, as follows:

1. Provides a place for worship.
2. Provides training for persons of all ages in the religious beliefs and practices of the group, so that social solidarity will be enhanced and the group will be perpetuated.

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This paper is based upon the author's unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, "An Index of Religious Group Action" (University of Missouri, June, 1956). It is a revision of a paper read at the annual meeting of the Rural Sociological Society, Sept. 5, 1956, East Lansing, Mich.

†University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo.

¹ The complete report of this study is being published in a series of Missouri Agricultural Experiment Station bulletins under the general title, *The Church in Rural Missouri* (Columbia: Missouri AES Research Bulls. 633A-G). To date, the first two bulletins have appeared.

⁶ James H. Copp, *Personal and Social Factors Associated with the Adoption of Recommended Farm Practices among Cattlemen*, Kansas AES Tech. Bull. 83 (Manhattan, 1956), p. 26.

⁷ Milton Rokeach, "The Nature and Meaning of Dogmatism," *Psychological Review*, LXI:3 (May, 1954), pp. 194-204; and Milton Rokeach et al., "A Distinction between Dogmatism and Rigid Thinking," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, LI:1 (Jan., 1955), pp. 87-93.

⁸ Murray A. Straus, *Straus Rural Attitudes Profile Preliminary Manual*, State College of Washington (Pullman, 1956).

3. Promotes sociability, in that it serves as a social and cultural rallying point.
4. Gives personal counsel in times of trouble and indecision.
5. Provides for the emotional release and catharsis of individuals.
6. Dispenses charity to the needy.
7. Provides personal and social security by promoting mutual aid among its members and by developing a feeling of confidence that right is done.
8. Promotes personal and social reform.
9. Exercises social control.
10. Conserves social values.
11. Provides ethical standards for the interpretation of life and the times.

In addition to studying the rural church in relation to these specific functions, there was a desire to compare churches as total functioning units, and to test a number of traditional hypotheses concerning the relationship of environmental variables and the functioning of churches. A review of the literature disclosed that, since 1900, numerous efforts had been made to evaluate statistically the functioning of rural churches. Since most of these studies had used single-variable measures, it was hoped that such a measure might be found to serve the present research need. However, there was little agreement among the various studies as to what a given single-factor index measures. For example, the membership-population ratio—one of the most often used measures—has been employed to gauge church efficiency, effectiveness, vitality, and power, as well as "the extent to which religious interests are organized within an area."

Moreover, when each of the numerous single-factor measures suggested in the literature was tested for correlation with other important church characteristics, none was found that had a consistent and high association with other variables. This indicated a need for constructing a multi-variable index.

Factor analysis was chosen as the technique to be used, because it had been successfully used in constructing the Hagood Level-of-Living Index, and because of the properties of the first common factor which this technique identifies.² Ten possible index items were selected, each chosen because it reflected either a resource or an activity which the majority of churches had in the performance of their religious functions. One item was later discarded be-

cause it had a very low correlation with the other items, and two were discarded because they were highly correlated with other items that were retained. The remaining seven-item index included the following: (1) number of members, (2) annual expenditures, (3) pastoral leadership score, (4) average number of Sundays per month on which worship services are held, (5) religious education score, (6) recreation score, and (7) social-service activities score.

Survey data were available for the churches of an 8-per-cent random sample of Missouri's rural townships—505 churches in 99 townships. However, the seven-item index had to be constructed with data for 418 churches, owing to incomplete information for 87 churches on one or more of the items.

To maximize the number of churches that could be scored on the index and to eliminate any factors not necessary for measuring the functioning of a church as a total unit, several combinations of items were tried experimentally. This resulted in a three-item index: (1) number of members, (2) average number of Sundays per month on which worship services are held, (3) religious education score. With this final index, it was possible to score all but two of the churches,³ and the correlation with the seven-item index was 0.937.

Because the usual tests of validity were not applicable, the capacity of the index to differentiate between categories in various classifications of churches was used as a test of validity. The classifications were those used to describe rural churches in the present study and in earlier research:

1. Open-country, small-village, and large-village churches.
2. Church-type and sect-type groups.
3. Churches with an official membership of: 49 or less, 50-99, 100 or more.
4. Churches with worship services: one Sunday a month, two Sundays a month, every Sunday.
5. Declining, stationary, and growing churches.

It was assumed that if the scores differed for each category within each classification the index was a valid measure of the total functioning of a rural church.

Analysis of variance and the t-test were used. It was found that index scores varied significantly between categories, yet were

² Margaret Jarman Hagood and Daniel O. Price, *Statistics for Sociologists* (rev. ed.; New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1952).

³ Two churches reported no membership as such, because membership is "up to the individual and God."

highly homogeneous within categories—thus indicating that the index was a valid measure.

The development of the index made it possible to test the relationship of church functioning to such environmental variables as level-of-living of the township, soil type, farm tenancy rates, and population growth or decline. Furthermore, if the index makes it possible to study quantitatively a social phenomenon such as the total functioning of a church, it should be possible to construct indices that will enable quantitative measurement of the functioning of other social organizations. Numerous hypotheses heretofore untested because of the qualitative nature of the phenomena could then be tested.

DEFINING THE BOUNDARIES OF A BRAZILIAN RURAL COMMUNITY

by *Edgard de Vasconcelos Barrois†*

An important preliminary step in any socio-economic research project in rural areas is to locate boundaries of communities. Determining the boundaries of a rural community in Brazil according to methods developed by American rural sociologists is seriously hampered by the almost complete lack of records which would indicate the rural families living on the fringe of the community's reach of influence. Rural agencies have not progressed to the point of keeping records of people using their services. The assessors' lists of the farms, used in collecting the territorial tax, are among the best sources of information. However, they provide information only for land-owners and do not include tenants, sharecroppers, and rural laborers.

The typical Brazilian rural community is composed of two elements: (1) the village or hamlet, with its trading center; and (2) the scattered farms linked to the center by the roads. The agencies located in the center service the surrounding rural population. Most important of these are the church, school, pharmacy, football field, stores, and community market. In the larger towns are also found movies, recreational centers, and a railroad station. However, the commercial function is strongest in the center's influence on the rural areas.

In the present study, a method was developed which made it possible to ignore faulty or inadequate records and proceed in accordance with general knowledge of the

ecological structure of Brazilian rural communities. The steps in defining the limits of Cajuri Community, in Vicosia County, will be listed to illustrate the procedure:

- (1) Obtain a map of the area, showing district divisions.

The map of Cajuri district showed a hamlet, Paraguai, in addition to the town of Cajuri. Thus, a part of the problem was to delineate the boundary between the community territory of the two centers.

- (2) Determine the major services and agencies of the community center.

In Cajuri, these are church, school, pharmacy, railroad station, store, market, football field, and movies.

- (3) Locate the main and neighborhood roads leading from the center into the rural areas. Knowledge of travel routes and patterns may provide clues to community boundaries.

- (4) Ask local leaders to locate on the map those families which they believe live at the outermost limits of the community, on each road.

- (5) Prepare a schedule and interview the families indicated as living at the outermost limits, concerning their community participation and their use of agencies and services of the community center.

- (6) In areas where people use services in two community centers, plot on the map the specific services used, by entering at the residence location a symbol for each service used.

This made it possible to distinguish between the families tied more closely to Cajuri and those tied more closely to Paraguai, and to determine which agencies and services were most influential in the fringe areas.

- (7) Draw a line linking the locations of the outermost families using the services of the given center more often, thus establishing the community boundaries.

This procedure was used successfully in delineating a rural Brazilian community. It is expected to be of considerable use in further research in Brazil on the economic and social problems arising from the expansion of rural communities, an expansion that is occurring because of improved communication and transportation.

†College of Agriculture, State of Minas Gerais, Vicosia, Brazil.

THE "COMMON LAND" IN
SOUTHWEST GERMANY:
THE BEHAVIOR OF A PREFEUDAL
INSTITUTION UNDER THE STRAINS
OF INDUSTRIALIZATION*

by Roland L. Warren†

The state of Baden-Württemberg, in Southwest Germany, is the only region in the Bundesrepublik where the ancient institution of the "common land" (*Allmende*) still plays an important role in agricultural life. In most other sections, the common land either never existed or was dissolved with the liberation of the peasants, in the nineteenth century.

The system had the advantages of providing for equitable land distribution and making the land available to those who could use it—in general, during the period from marriage until death. It provided for democratic participation by the whole community in the administration of its most important natural resource, the land. The system presupposed, however, a predominantly agricultural society, relatively little migration, and a relatively stable population. With the industrial revolution and subsequent developments, these three conditions have been largely changed.

In other German states, the response was a transformation of the common land, where present, into private property. In Baden-Württemberg, though some of the common land has been so transformed, a great variety of interesting adjustment patterns have taken place in the communities which have retained their common land.¹

*The author expresses his indebtedness to Helmut Röhm, Institut für Agrarpolitik und Ernährungswirtschaft, Landwirtschaftliche Hochschule Stuttgart-Hohenheim. Recent research by him or under his direction provided an important source of information for this report. See especially, his "Das Allmendeproblem in Baden-Württemberg," *Berichte über Landwirtschaft*, Bd. 33, H. 3, 1955; and Helmut Nolda, "Gegenwartfragen der Allmendennutzung in Baden-Württemberg" (doctoral dissertation, Landwirtschaftliche Hochschule Stuttgart-Hohenheim, 1955). Röhm also arranged conferences with mayors of 14 different common-land communities, and accompanied the author on visits to these officials. Acknowledgment is made also to the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation, through whose financial help the author spent the academic year 1956-57 in Stuttgart, Germany, conducting a community study there.

†State Charities Aid Association, New York 10, N. Y.

¹In 1953, Nolda reported 955 communities in Baden-Württemberg (out of a total of 3,383) that had common land parceled out in lots (*aufgeteilte Allmenden*) totalling 48,703 ha (2,4711 acres = 1 Hektar or ha). In addition, vast areas were still in use as common forest. Total common lands comprised about 2.5 per cent of the land in agricultural production. In more than a third of the

in order to adapt this institution to contemporary conditions of industrialization, population increase, and migration. The present report describes some of these adjustments.

TYPES OF ADJUSTMENT TO MODERN CONDITIONS

Dissolution.—The most important, somewhat negative, adjustment to modern conditions is dissolution and transformation of the common land into private property or into community property. (In community property, the land is owned by the village, and the income therefrom goes to the village treasury.) For example, the city of Hechingen (population at the time about 5,000) did away with its common land after finding, in 1927, that only about 10 per cent of the 300 people entitled to common land were actually working the land. Others were either renting it out or leaving it fallow. Röhm reports that, since 1925, 173 communities with a common-land area of 15,614 ha have thus disposed of their common land, and another 349 communities have given up 4,519 ha in a partial dissolution of their common land.²

Leaving fallow.—One type of adjustment to the new technical, demographic, and economic conditions is for many people simply to leave their parcels fallow. In 1953, Baden-Württemberg had a total of 1,678 ha of fallow land (*Sozialbrache*), of which 18.5 per cent was in common-land parcels, a disproportionately high percentage. It was also found that the proportion of fallow land rose with the degree of industrialization, and with the population of the community.³

"Renting out."—The process of "renting out" serves to redistribute land use more in accordance with contemporary need than is otherwise provided by the common-land system. Although the traditional point of view is opposed to renting out a person's apportioned land parcels, 7 of every 10 communities reported that renting out was practiced, either with or without explicit legal authorization. It was further established that the amount of renting out varied with the type of community, the highest being in the city communities and the lowest in communities made up predominantly of small farmers.⁴

Giving up one's rights.—Another type of adaptation, particularly in the case of rela-

common-land communities, the common land to taled over 10 per cent of the usable agricultural land.

² Röhm, *op. cit.*, p. 399.

³ Nolda, *op. cit.*, pp. 91-108.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 88-90.

tively marginal land or parcels, is for the individual simply to give up his rights to share in the use of the common-land parcels, thus enlarging the number of parcels available for distribution. Such enlargement usually occurs otherwise only with the death of a person holding common-land rights. In 1953, 135 communities reported that one or more persons gave up their rights for use during that year.⁵

Higher age of entry.—A method for adjusting the availability of a given acreage of land to an ever-increasing number of people is that of increasing the age at which a person becomes entitled to common-land privileges: The higher the age, the shorter the average length of tenure—thus, the greater the number of people who can be accommodated. Although the traditional age of entry is 25, more than a fourth of the communities prescribe an entry age of 41 years or higher.⁶

Distribution of parcels for life.—A modern development, which can be interpreted more as an improvement of the system than as a mere passive adaptation to modern conditions, is the increase in apportionment of parcels for life, rather than for some usually shorter stipulated period of a given number of years.⁷ This gives the individual a greater stake in maintaining and building up his land. This improvement acts, of course, to lengthen the average time of tenure, and hence must be compensated for by other adjustments.

Reducing the age of entry.—Another positive improvement has been the success of many communities in checking, or even reversing, the tendency for the age of entry to rise as a result of the increased number of those entitled to common-land rights. This was accomplished largely through an increase in the number of parcels (at the expense of reducing their average size) and through the relinquishing of common-land rights by those who had no use for them.⁸

"Buying in."—An important method of adaptation to the increase in population and to the needs of new migrants has been the process of "buying oneself into" the common-land rights. This was specifically provided for in the community laws of Baden, Württemberg, and Hohenzollern during the last half of the nineteenth century. Through buying in and renting on

the one hand, and giving up or leasing on the other, a constant readjustment is possible to make the land available more specifically to those individuals who actually want to use it.⁹

The right to choose one's father's parcels.—This modification stretches the common-land system in the direction of private property and gives it the advantage that one's effort to build up the land may redound to the benefit of one's own children. This is widely practiced in Switzerland. A related practice is that of *Hausallmenden*, according to which certain parcels are apportioned to the owner of a particular house. He does not own the common-ground parcels, but he is assured the use of them, as are his successors in ownership of the house.¹⁰

Part-time farming.—The average acreage of common-land parcels is relatively small. The full-time farmer tills privately owned land as well as common-land parcels. However, another possibility for the person with common-land rights is part-time farming, with some other activity as the principal source of income. In the 1953 study, it was ascertained that in 37 per cent of the cases (about 50 per cent of the common-land acreage) in the northern part of the state the common-land parcels were used in a part-time, rather than a full-time, farming venture.¹¹

Adaptations in the use of the common forest.—The common forest land is important, for it provides rights which in some cases are of greater importance to the individuals than rights to the common-land parcels. While formerly the common-forest rights involved access to wood for fuel and for use in one's own construction, modern forestry techniques have made it economically advantageous to sell the wood for lumber. Thus, in many communities the common woodlands are forested as a commercial enterprise by the village government, and the profits are then distributed to the citizens holding common-land rights. In some cases the village government, which has for some time been charged with the administration (though not the ownership) of the common land, takes a stipulated percentage of the profit as a source of income, as a result of a vote of the village board (*Gemeinderat*). Technically, this and other changes in common-land administration are permissible only with

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 55.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 56.

⁷ Röhm, *op. cit.*, p. 401.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ Nolda, *op. cit.*, p. 60; and Röhm, *op. cit.*, p. 401.

¹⁰ Nolda, *op. cit.*, pp. 28-29.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 79.

the express consent of two-thirds of the citizens with common-land rights. Yet apparently with administrative prerogatives there has developed a practical state of quasi-ownership, supported in part by the fact that the common-land citizens no longer understand the somewhat abstract traditional legal status of the common lands. The practices, however, are extremely varied. One mayor reported that the people in his village insisted on retaining the right to their own firewood, even though it was demonstrated to them that it was to their economic advantage to receive the money instead. Many of the village governments simply took over the common land without reimbursement, toward the end of the nineteenth century.

The common pasture.—With the advent of summer stall-feeding, the readily available and most productive pasture land was parceled out. However, there remain about 7,000 hectares of common land in the southern Black Forest—partly relatively unproductive, high-lying land—still used by villagers as common pasture land. In addition, there are some 3,000 hectares of land actually owned by the villages. Because these lands are the farthest from possible industrial usage and relatively inaccessible, the system has undergone the least stress under modern conditions and the method of land use as common pasture for the community herd, made up of cattle under individual ownership of the respective members, remains relatively unchanged.

Gemeinschaft to Gesellschaft

The gradual adaptation of the common land to modern conditions is an excellent example of the transition from *Gemeinschaft* to *Gesellschaft*, in Toennies' sense. It is unnecessary to subscribe to all the details of Toennies' theory of social will in order to realize that the two concepts he developed are useful tools for analysis. It will be recalled that in the *Gemeinschaft* form of association, the ties which hold people together are those of custom and sentiment, that the institutional form is one which has developed involuntarily in informal association, that controls over conduct are those of custom, group approval, and so on. In the *Gesellschaft* form, in

contrast, association is rationalized, formal organization is set up, and the rule of law and contract predominates. While the examples *par excellence* of *Gemeinschaft* are family, neighborhood, and friendship group, *Gesellschaft* is best exemplified in the city and the state. *Gesellschaft* is fostered by urbanization and industrialization.¹²

In the common lands, we have an excellent example of transformation from one type to another.¹³ There is a tendency to modify the institution of the common land away from the older *Gemeinschaft* form, based on tradition, mutual assent, and informal procedures, to a *Gesellschaft* form which is a rationalized part of the market-money-contract economy. Some of the developments just discussed are particularly indicative of the transition: the increasing possibility of "buying into" the rights to common land; the spreading practice of renting out common-land parcels for cash; the general transition from direct usage of the common forest *in natura* to the scientific administration of the forest with distribution of the cash profits; the transference of administrative responsibility from the ancient *Dorfgemeinschaft* to the municipal government. In addition, the giving up of common-land rights by some citizens and the dissolution of the common lands as such by some communities are a fateful indication of the decline of the older *Gemeinschaft* form of the common land.

Thus, it can be seen that the common-land system must adapt in order to survive under today's conditions, and that such adaptations as are made indicate a transition from *Gemeinschaft* to *Gesellschaft*. The fact that such adaptations are most prevalent in the larger-sized and more industrialized communities, as reported by Röhm and Nolda, tends to underline this conclusion.

¹² Ferdinand Toennies, *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft* (1887); and Charles P. Loomis' translation, *Fundamental Concepts of Sociology* (New York: American Book Co., 1940). For brief descriptions, see Georges Gurvitch and Wilbert E. Moore, *Twentieth Century Sociology* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1945); and Nicholas S. Timasheff, *Sociological Theory: Its Nature and Growth* (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday & Co., 1955).

¹³ Most of the criteria are continua, not attributes, and thus involve a continuous gradation along several dimensions rather than an absolute dichotomy of *Gemeinschaft* or *Gesellschaft*.

SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH ON FARMERS' ORGANIZATIONS AND AGRICULTURAL COOPERATIVES

by Ray E. Wakeley†

Report of the Ad Hoc Subcommittee on Farmers' Organizations and Agricultural Cooperatives, the Rural Sociological Society*

Farmers' organizations and agricultural cooperatives in the United States have grown up together and can be researched together. Careful estimates indicate that the three largest general farmers' organizations had a total of more than 2½ million members in 1955.¹ Fifty thousand farmer cooperatives of all types reported a total of more than 15 million individual members. Approximately 4 million farmers belonged to one or more cooperatives in 1947-1948.² Farmers' organizations and agricultural cooperatives today are the leading organizations by which farmers protect and develop their special interests. Some of the more serious problems in human relations affecting farm people have occurred among these organizations. Rural sociologists are called upon increasingly to furnish information to help solve current problems and to guide future developments.³

Good work has been done recently in listing needed research in agricultural coop-

eratives. In 1949, the Farm Credit Administration's Cooperative Research and Service Division and the American Institute of Cooperation invited researchers in agricultural economics to assist in developing plans for research in agricultural cooperation. In 1951, the present subcommittee of the Rural Sociological Society was invited to develop further those research areas which are primarily sociological. The committee met in workshop sessions in 1952 and 1953. Building on the previous work of the agricultural economists, the committee developed a report which is interdisciplinary in scope.⁴ Comprehensive and inclusive as it is, this report contains a wealth of suggestions for research in agricultural cooperatives. Contributions to this report constituted one of the major accomplishments of the subcommittee. Researchers who want more specific suggestions concerning scope and method may refer to earlier research monographs of the Social Science Research Council.⁵

The present committee task is to build upon and supplement the good work which has been done. The uses of sociological analysis in investigating the problems of farmers' organizations and agricultural cooperatives will be explored and outlined in three ways:

1. Definition of the major research units.
2. Consideration of useful sociological frameworks.
3. Description of research areas, with selected illustrations of testable hypotheses.

†Iowa State College, Ames, Iowa.

*This report is a combination of two earlier reports made by this subcommittee and presented in 1952 and 1953: (1) Ray E. Wakeley, "Sociological Research on Farmer Cooperatives," and (2) Wayne C. Rohrer, "Research in the Field of General Farmers' Organizations."

Other members of the subcommittee were: Carl C. Taylor (chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee), Howard W. Beers, Lowry Nelson, Macklin John, Duane L. Gibson, George M. Beal, and Emory J. Brown.

The present writer recognized two important but difficult tasks: (1) to present and interpret the work of the subcommittee; (2) to combine the essential features of the two reports in an interrelated, if not an integrated, whole.

¹These are the American Farm Bureau Federation, the Patrons of Husbandry, and the Farmers Educational and Cooperative Union of America—popularly known as the Farm Bureau, the Grange, and the Farmers Union, respectively.

²Grace Wanstall, *Statistics of Farmers Marketing and Purchasing Cooperatives, 1947-1948*, Misc. Report 137, Farm Credit Admin., USDA (Washington, D.C., 1950).

³Agricultural economists have had a long-time research interest in agricultural cooperatives. The Cooperative League and the American Institute of Cooperation and their supporting organizations recognized a need for more research information. The Cooperative Research and Service Division of the Farm Credit Administration has been active in obtaining and reporting research information which could be used by agricultural cooperatives to solve operational problems.

⁴See Cooperative Research and Service Division, Farm Credit Admin., USDA, and American Institute of Cooperation, *Research in Agricultural Cooperation*, Misc. Report 176 (preliminary; Washington, D.C., July, 1953).

The report enumerated 285 separate problem areas, classified under 42 subheads of 6 major categories. Two categories, 14 subheads, and 104 problem areas were considered mostly sociological; but no attempt was made to develop an exclusive disciplinary classification.

⁵E.g., John D. Black (ed.), *Research in Rural Organization*, Bull. 12; *idem* (ed.), *Research in Agricultural Cooperation*, Bull. 15; and Mark A. May (chairman of committee), *Competition and Cooperation*, Bull. 25 (New York: Social Science Research Council, 1933, 1933, and 1937, respectively).

DEFINITION OF RESEARCH UNITS

Scientific description and analysis of farmers' organizations and agricultural cooperatives can be expedited by a more precise definition of the basic units of organization which are to be described. Differences in definition have arisen in the past because of differences in function and differences in complexity of organization, and because of the great number of points of view from which these organizations can be described.

A farmers' organization may be defined as an association of farmers that is multi-purpose and has functions numerous and broad enough to be considered general.⁶ Historically, farmers' organizations have had four major functions: (1) sociability and fraternity, (2) education, (3) political influence, and (4) economic advantage. Emphasis upon each of these functions has varied and still varies widely. Variations in functional emphasis and organization policies in different localities emphasize the importance of ecological analysis.

Farmers' organizations in the United States may also be described and classified sociologically in certain of their aspects as formal voluntary associations. The same is true of agricultural cooperatives. Historically, farmers' organizations and agricultural cooperatives have grown up together and have been in close, long-standing relationship to each other. Taylor has said that cooperative marketing was the end-product of the farmers' movement.⁷ Loomis and Beegle state that cooperative marketing was one of the important results, and that the cooperative movement was a part of the farmers' movement.⁸ Farmers' organizations and cooperatives show the characteristics of their common origin in a dynamic society where they were organized to right actual or imagined wrongs resulting from the development of the market and price system over which farmers had no effective control and to which, as individuals, they were unable to make any adjustment satisfactory to them.

In the past, agricultural cooperatives have been organized by farmers' organizations to

further economic ends. At present all farmers' organizations are favorable to agricultural cooperatives. However, each major farmers' organization maintains its own distinctive relationship to cooperatives.

Compared with farmers' organizations, agricultural cooperatives are more economic in function and more limited in scope, and the forms of organization and the techniques of operation are more rigidly specified. Definition, therefore, should be relatively easy—except that there are several definitions of a cooperative, each with somewhat different implications for research:

The legal definition.—Legally, a cooperative is what the law says it is. But cooperatives are not uniform under the law, and cooperative laws are not uniform between the states. Agricultural cooperatives may also be organized on the basis of corporation laws. These may be cooperative in operation, but their cooperative characteristics are limited by use of the legal corporate form. Legal definitions of cooperatives and the implications of legal definitions are an interesting area for research, but they offer no common basis or framework for scientific research in agricultural cooperatives.

The business definition.—The traditional business point of view is that a cooperative is a business enterprise controlled by a membership corporation instead of a stock corporation. According to this view, the agricultural cooperative is merely an alternative organization and method of conducting a business. It is useful to note differences between members and patrons when compared with owners and customers. In the cooperative, member and patron are one and the same. In the business world, owner and customer are different persons. Business customers and nonmember patrons are free to choose with whom they will trade, and they bear no risk or responsibility for the conduct of the business. Business owners and cooperative members are always legally responsible, to some degree.

Economic definition.—A recent economic analysis described agricultural cooperatives as associations of participating farm firms joined by multilateral agreements for the conduct of some business activity considered to be essential to the participating farm firms. The cooperative association consists of these multilateral agreements among the firms. Representatives of these firms may agree mutually to establish and operate a business unit jointly, but the cooperative has no life or purpose beyond

⁶ Such associations may be centralized or federated in form and vary from local to international in membership and scope. The three farmers' organizations which are national in their scope and influence, together with their local and state units and affiliates, are emphasized in this report; but such emphasis is not a limitation of the definition.

⁷ Carl C. Taylor, *Rural Sociology* (rev.; New York: Harper & Bros., 1933), p. 674.

⁸ Charles P. Loomis and J. Allan Beegle, *Rural Social Systems* (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1950), p. 650.

that of the participating firms.⁹ In essence, the cooperative is a means by which farm firms are banded together to maximize individual returns from farm operation. The decision to join or not to join a cooperative thus becomes a farm-management decision.

The entrepreneurs make the economic decisions for the firm. The entrepreneurs enter into the necessary multilateral agreements and function together to attain common objectives. But entrepreneurs under a family farm system are persons who are heads of families. In the cooperative association, the impersonal economic relationships become dependent upon interpersonal relationships and processes with family members, neighbors, and friends. These interpersonal relationships and processes of action must be analyzed sociologically if the functioning of the cooperative association is to be understood. This is the basis for the use of the formal voluntary association as a sociological model to complement the impersonal economic model.

Sociological implications.—Farmers' organizations and agricultural cooperatives have varied historically and in the present from informal to highly institutionalized forms. Sociologically, these groups may be considered in a number of different ways—for example, as formal voluntary associations or as social systems. The point of view from which these groups will be considered can be chosen on the basis of the problem selected for study and the degree of formality which characterizes the group under consideration.

Certain characteristics of these organizations are unique and important from any point of view. (1) Some local associations might be considered captive associations organized and controlled by general farmers' organizations or cooperative wholesalers. (2) The power structure of farmers' organizations and agricultural cooperatives deserves emphasis because of the close relationship to the farmer movement. Many farmers' organizations and agricultural cooperatives were organized and still operate as pressure groups. (3) Not all farmers' organizations and agricultural cooperatives conduct their affairs for prudential objectives alone. Some agricultural cooperatives have a strongly idealistic orientation. In such organizations the ideal way becomes the right way, and to follow the right way becomes a major objective of the organization regardless of results obtained. In

such a situation, the sociologist may be called upon to make an analysis of the cooperative from the standpoint of competing value systems.

SOCIOLOGICAL FRAMEWORKS

Sociological frameworks for the analysis of human relationships are many—each useful when properly applied. Several of the more prominent ones are presented here briefly. The one to be used in a given instance is the one best suited to the analysis of the specific problem under consideration.

Problem solving or social action.—The general purpose of social group action is to attain group objectives and aims in empirical situations. Some social action problems which call for research relate to the logical steps in problem solving, the rational choices among alternatives, and the application of means-ends analysis to the attainment of chosen objectives. There is need for research information basic to each step, from the description of the problem situation to the measurement of the results of the action. More adequate research within the problem-solving framework will require an interdisciplinary approach. Such research may be designed to test a policy in terms of the ranking of objectives, the selection among means to attain the objectives sought, the development of a plan of operations, or the measurement of the results of a specific program or procedure.

Formal organization.—Agricultural cooperatives and farmers' organizations can be analyzed as formal voluntary associations. This type of analysis can be applied most effectively to independent local associations or to local units of an organization. In studies to date, emphasis has been placed on reasons for joining, on member participation, and on factors affecting participation. Studies of participation have yielded little because basic elements in participation were not included or because of the difficulty of measuring both the economic and sociological aspects.¹⁰ However, some progress in overcoming these weaknesses has been made by Beal, with the collaboration of economists and sociologists.¹¹ Beal's work has as one of its objectives the development of measures by which to compare

⁹ Richard Phillips, "Economic Nature of the Cooperative Association," *Journal of Farm Economics*, XXXV (1953), pp. 74-78.

¹⁰ Sometimes the difficulty was really the stubborn refusal of sociologists to include economic aspects of participation and of the economists to admit that cooperatives have any vital sociological aspects.

¹¹ George M. Beal, *The Roots of Participation in Farmer Cooperatives* (Ames, Iowa: The College Bookstore, 1954).

cooperatives, farmers' organizations, and other formal voluntary associations such as labor unions or church groups.

Sociometric techniques are available for the analysis of integration or cleavage and to locate persons whom the members would accept or reject for various specialized roles. Indices of social distance are useful to measure the social gap which may exist between leaders of different organizations. Measures of social status can be used to indicate differences between members and nonmembers, or between members of the same or different organizations. The possible uses of these techniques should be explored further, especially with regard to the effectiveness of communication and the selection and functioning of leaders.

Ideal type and polar type.—The economic form of the agricultural cooperative considered as an association of firms is an example of an ideal type based on a unique theoretical concept. Type parts of this ideal type are present to a varying degree in different cooperatives. Measures need to be developed so that the actual and the ideal can be compared more accurately and completely from both the sociological and the economic points of view. Polar-type technique may be used to compare agricultural cooperatives and farmers' organizations with respect to *Gemeinschaft-Gezellschaft* or other contrasting characteristics. Analysis by contrast might be used to compare agricultural cooperatives by scaled measurements on any polar continuum, with the extreme contrast setting the limits of the scale.

Ecological analysis.—Ecological processes influence the success or failure of cooperative and competitive enterprises of all kinds. Farmers' organizations and cooperatives can be located in space by means of an analysis of membership and other characteristics. Different concentrations and combinations exist in different parts of the country. Symbiotic relationships characterize farmers' organizations and cooperatives in relation to other groups and to each other. Different farm organizations may be considered to have somewhat different natural habitats, to develop segregated areas, to claim relatively exclusive jurisdiction, and to invade each others' territory and replace other organizations with one of their own kind. The ecological framework is a productive one within which to study these aspects of agricultural cooperatives and farmers' organizations.

Social systems.—Analysis of farmers' organizations and agricultural cooperatives as

social systems will be useful to those who seek a comprehensive research framework. Included here is the interpersonal action of persons, organized or unorganized, working to attain their common objectives usually expressed by the interacting membership of groups which are in an integrated and systematic relationship to each other. Cultural subsystems which are composed of persistent patterns of roles and relationships, of structured systems of values, comprise the cultural basis on which groups operate and by which they are related to the social system. The closeness of the relationship between the sociological and the cultural is illustrated in any organization by the degree of emphasis which is placed on those cultural values from which flow objectives that are attained by interpersonal action. The team approach is most valuable, but team members must understand each others' methods and points of view and the ways in which each can contribute to the common research objectives; and there must be common objectives. The social systems framework is especially useful in cross-cultural studies.

RESEARCH AREAS AND HYPOTHESES

Sociological research areas differ distinctively from operational problems or problem areas. Problem areas include a wide variety of operational problems which affect the success of farmers' organizations and agricultural cooperatives, such as those of starting an organization, conducting a business, maintaining membership, exerting political pressure, making group decisions, gaining acceptance for them, and maintaining satisfactory relations with other groups. Problem areas become sociological research areas when the problems are analyzed within, and by the use of some scientific sociological framework such as one of those mentioned above. From a comprehensive sociological point of view, farmers' organizations and agricultural cooperatives are formally organized groups of people who use organizational structures and methods of social interaction to attain their objectives. The task of this part of the report will be to indicate a number of major areas of sociological research, and for each research area to suggest one or two hypotheses which can be scientifically tested:

Number, kinds, and distribution of organized groups.—These facts and their analysis are basic to any general study of farmers' organizations and agricultural cooperatives. Several pertinent observations should be noted: (1) The number of groups to be studied in an area will depend

in part upon the definition accepted by the researcher. (2) The distribution of the groups in space is related to the number and distribution of other groups with supplementary or with complementary functions. These and similar data can be analyzed in an ecological framework. (3) Changes in number and distribution of groups under consideration can be analyzed in terms of social forces and ecological processes at work, or in terms of trends over time and fluctuations therefrom.

Hypotheses: (1) The number, size, and spatial concentration of the local units of organizations are related to the farmers' knowledge of, and their attitudes toward, the community center with which their interests are most closely associated.

(2) Farmers' organizations and agricultural cooperatives develop together on the basis of complementary relationships.

Number and personal characteristics of group personnel.—Group personnel includes members, board members and officers, and professional and hired workers.

Hypotheses: (1) Members of the organization can be evaluated by the degree to which they accept the roles prescribed by the organization.

(2) Members can be distinguished from nonmembers by differences in their personal, economic, cultural, and sociological characteristics.

Group objectives and long-time ends.—This general research area includes major problems of decision making which affect the adoption, maintenance, and change of organization objectives—including the relationships between short-time objectives and long-time ends, and the relationships between member needs and the values characteristic of the community and society in which the groups operate.

Hypotheses: (1) Knowledge and understanding of the goals and objectives of an organization are related directly to the number of members and to the participation of members in the organization.

(2) Farmers' organizations and agricultural cooperatives may or may not agree upon the objectives each will pursue, and as a result they may cooperate or be in conflict with each other.

(3) Making or saving money for members is necessary, but it is not a sufficient reason for maintaining an agricultural cooperative.

(4) Farmers' organizations or agricultural cooperatives which have only punitive, yardstick, or antimonopoly ob-

jectives will decline when need for such objectives is no longer recognized.

Personnel maintenance and participation.—Included here are the roles played by members, officers, and professional and service personnel; and problems of membership maintenance, motivation, and incentives to action.

Hypotheses: (1) Identification of a member with an organization is related to his participation in the work of the organization.

(2) Acceptance of responsibility by members of an organization is related to opportunity or invitation to participate, to group morale, to social pressure, to personal ambition, and to a member's confidence in his ability to contribute to the success of the organization.

(3) Participation by members is more closely related to their knowledge and understanding of the organization than to their personal characteristics.

(4) Farmers identify more closely with farmers' organizations and agricultural cooperatives than they do with other private businesses, because they are members and patrons of the former but only customers of the latter.

Structural elements of association.—Structural elements include patterns of association, hierarchies, roles, status patterns, legal and other norms and means of control, and structured relationships to other groups.

Hypotheses: (1) The structured elements of an organization define roles to be taken and directly affect the selection and functioning of leaders.

(2) The more numerous the local units of farmers' organizations, agricultural cooperatives, and business groups in any area, the more impersonal will be the patterns of association among organization personnel.

(3) Farmers' organizations and agricultural cooperatives which operate on a regional or national basis tend to control otherwise independent local groups by such indirect means as capital aid, affiliate membership, or control of educational funds.

Processes of social interaction and change.—Processes include the basic ways of getting things done, including communication as an essential basis for all interaction between persons. Personal interaction includes three broad categories: (a) cooperation and mutual aid, (b) competition and conflict, and (c) various forms of accommodation. Societal processes of social

change, pressure group techniques, and ecological processes also are included here.

Hypotheses: (1) Decisions regarding methods of interaction and strategy are more often made by professional or managerial personnel than by the members of the organization.

(2) Members of farmers' organizations and agricultural cooperatives practice cooperation and mutual aid more than do other members of other organized groups.

(3) The number of choices or decisions in which members participate is related to the extent and effectiveness of communication among members of the organization.

Results obtained.—Work done and objectives attained are both included here. Work done can be measured in terms of time, effort, and money expended by members and other personnel. Attainment of objectives can be measured in terms of the degree to which the organization has moved toward attaining an objective as well as in terms of the objectives which have been attained. Empirical results can be classified in three major categories: (a) maintenance of membership, and other activities necessary to maintain the organization as a going concern; (b) results obtained toward the attainment of planned objectives; and (c) unexpected results which were neither planned nor anticipated. Careful research is needed to identify these categories, to measure them, and to describe the relationships between them. Much more also needs to be known about the various factors which influence the results per unit of time, effort, and money contributed by the members.

Hypotheses: (1) Organizations are most successful when policy decisions are made by the members and specialized service is rendered by paid personnel.

(2) The higher the proportion of the total effort which is furnished by the members, the greater will be the results per unit of total effort expended.

(3) An optimum proportion of the total effort expended on organization maintenance and improvement will yield greater results in terms of long-time objectives attained.

Example in the use of general theory.—Following is a very brief summary of an actual research problem, presented here to illustrate method and procedure.¹²

¹² John Harp, "Differential Participation of Members in Cooperatives of Iowa and Manitoba" (Master's thesis, Iowa State College, Ames, 1956).

The major group characteristic under analysis in this study was group cohesion, defined as the members' acceptance of roles prescribed by the system. This was the dependent variable. The over-all problem was to identify the variables which are related to cohesion and therefore help to explain or account for it—the independent variables.

The first variable selected for testing was role clarity, defined as clearness or unambiguity of role definition—i.e., the extent to which the role expectations of the units in the system are clearly defined by the system and communicated to the members. The hypothesis was that role clarity and group cohesion are positively related.

Member satisfaction was the second independent variable. This has been defined in several ways, most of them indefinite and relatively unacceptable from a scientific point of view. Member satisfaction was defined more explicitly here as the degree to which achievement expectations of the units (members) in a system are met by the achievement actualities. The hypothesis was one of a positive relationship to cohesion.

The third variable for which a positive association with cohesion was hypothesized was power, defined as influence over "what goes on," or the relative share which the member units have in the decision-making process of the system.

Before these hypothesized relationships between variables could be tested, measures for one or more of the characteristic dimensions of the concepts had to be selected or developed. Here we see the transfer from the concept to the measurement data:

1. Cohesion was measured by member participation, because the degree to which member units participate in the cooperative association is an evidence of the degree to which member units accept the roles as defined by the association.

2. Role clarity was measured by the degree to which members understand various roles defined by the association. A scoring system was developed to measure knowledge and understanding—hence, role clarity.

3. Satisfaction was measured by means of a member-satisfaction scale.

4. Power was measured by the question: "Do you feel that you have a 'say' in the running of your cooperative?"

Data were obtained by interviews with a sample of cooperative members, and the four measures were computed for each respondent. The following relationships were found, each highly significant: The correla-

tion between understanding and participation was .606 and that between satisfaction and participation was .555, while the participation scores of members who reported they had a 'say' in running the association averaged 50 per cent larger than those of respondents who reported they had no 'say.'

SOME GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

The major thesis of this report has been that much of the success or failure of farmers' organizations and agricultural cooperatives can be explained in terms of human relations and social processes. The challenge to the committee has been to present major sociological frameworks which can be used to advantage, to name sociological research areas within which major problems can be grouped, to formulate sociological statements of some operational problems which might be investigated, and to suggest some specific hypotheses.

Many of the suggested hypotheses can be expressed more exactly as two or more related subhypotheses. The more complex the hypothesis, the greater the possibility that results will be inconclusive, or that the hypothesis will be only partly substantiated or rejected. In such instances the hypotheses should be simplified before retesting, and alternative hypotheses might also be considered.

No attempt was made to state the suggested hypotheses in the form most likely to be substantiated by research results. Neither were hypotheses stated in exact form for statistical testing.¹³

Complexity of the problem does not define research. For example, research on

member relations may range in complexity from a simple analysis of changes over time in the number of members to the experimental measurement of membership changes attributable to a shift in the board of directors or the hiring of a new field man. Although not so comprehensive, such studies are no less sociological or scientific than a relatively complete analytical description of a farmers' organization or agricultural cooperative as a sociocultural system, including all internal and external characteristics, relationships, and related factors. The criteria of adequate sociological research are the objective approach, a sociological framework, and the use of scientific techniques.

Changes or breakdowns of crisis proportions which appear in the life history of organizations call for special research emphasis. Operational crises demand action toward reconstruction rather than research. But research in an action framework can obtain the facts to guide the reconstruction. Research of a fundamental nature can be introduced during a crisis to describe crisis behavior and obtain information which will be useful in preventing or solving future crises.

Rural sociologists can help by obtaining pertinent data and making analyses on the basis of which farmers' organizations and agricultural cooperatives can arrive at a clearer understanding of the human relations aspects of their common problems. Relationships between farmers' organizations, cooperatives, and other business groups and government agencies need to be studied sociologically at community, state, and national levels of functioning.

¹³ For statistical testing, hypotheses should be stated in the null form.

APPLIED SOCIOLOGY NOTES

ATTRIBUTES OF FARM FAMILIES WITH LOW FREQUENCY OF CONTACT WITH AGRICULTURAL EXTENSION*

by W. L. Slocum†

Some previous investigators have analyzed the relationships between the level of Extension contacts and selected characteristics of farm families¹ (Table 1). However, their emphasis has been principally upon the high-contact, rather than the low-contact, families. Furthermore, their findings apparently have not been collated.

From the point of view of the Agricultural Extension Service, it is important to identify and to analyze the characteristics of low participators as well as the characteristics of high participators. Such analyses may provide clues to be followed in connection with the modification of existing methods or the invention of new methods to facilitate communication with these families.

THE SAMPLE

Information was obtained by personal interview during the winter of 1955-56 from 314 farm families who were selected by probability sampling methods. The sample was selected in such a manner as to represent, within the limits of sampling variability, all Washington farm families except broken families, those living on abnormal or residential farms, and those with gross incomes from agriculture of less than \$750 during 1955.² Information was obtained

from nearly every family eligible for interview. This largely removes error due to nonresponse, although sampling errors and errors of response, of course, remain.

CLASSIFICATION ACCORDING TO FREQUENCY OF CONTACT

There are a number of ways of classifying the level of Extension contacts. The method used here resembles the method employed by Neiderfrank in his New Hampshire study, in that an index was devised which combined information about various types of contacts into a single measure.³ It differs from his method in that the items are not identical and a different set of weights was used for comparable items.

In the present case, weights were assigned by a panel of experts—the Extension Research Committee, made up of Extension supervisors and specialists, with representation from the Rural Sociology and Agricultural Economics Departments of the Agricultural Experiment Stations. The following weights were established:

Type of contact	Weight
Farm or home visit.....	15
Office visit	10
Phone call	10
Attendance at demonstration...	10
Discussion or other meeting....	10
Listening to the radio.....	2
Circular letter	1

The reported frequency was multiplied by the appropriate weight, and the results were added to yield a weighted score for each operator and homemaker.

Four categories of contact with Extension were established, as follows:⁴

1. *No contact.*
2. *Low contact:* Those who had less than the equivalent of one farm or home visit during the preceding year.
3. *Medium contact:* Those who had the equivalent of at least one farm or home visit during the year, but not more than one every two months.

Contacts to Selected Attitudes, Practices, and Patterns of Living of Washington Farm Families," Washington AES unpublished manuscript (Pullman, July, 1957).

* Cf. Neiderfrank *et al.*, *op. cit.*

† The categories were related to the frequency of farm- or home visits because it was believed that this would be meaningful in terms of the experiences of county Extension workers.

* Revision of a paper presented at the 1957 annual meeting of the Rural Sociological Society.

† State College of Washington, Pullman, Wash.

¹ Cf., Lee Coleman, "Differential Contact with Extension Work in a New York Rural Community," *Rural Sociology*, XVI:3 (Sept., 1951), pp. 207-216. Coleman's sample included both high- and low-contact families, but his analysis was focused on the former; Lois Scantland, C. A. Svinth, and Marvin J. Taves, *A Square Look at Extension Work in Spokane County, Washington*, Washington AES Bull. 463 (Pullman, 1952); Wayne C. Rohrer, *The Extension Service in Cecil County, Maryland*, Maryland AES Misc. Pub. No. 216 (College Park, 1954); M. C. Wilson and Gladys Gallup, *Extension Teaching Methods and Other Factors That Influence Adoption of Agricultural and Home Economics Practices*, USDA Ext. Serv. Circ. 495 (Washington, D. C., 1953), pp. 20-22; E. J. Neiderfrank *et al.*, *New Hampshire Extension Service Looks at Itself*, New Hampshire AES Ext. Circ. 294 (Durham, N. H., 1949); Kate Adele Hill *et al.*, *The Lubbock County Study*, A. & M. College of Texas, Agr. Ext. Serv. Rpt. B-11 (Bryan, 1948).

² The sampling methodology is described in W. L. Slocum, Owen L. Brough, Jr., and Murray A. Straus, "The Relationship of Level of Extension

TABLE 1. ATTRIBUTES OF LOW CONTACT PERSONS AS REPORTED BY VARIOUS INVESTIGATORS*

Item	Present study		Nelderfrank <i>et al.</i>		Hill <i>et al.</i>		Seantland <i>et al.</i>		Coleman	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Age.....	U	U	U	U	Younger	Younger and older	Younger	Younger	U	U
Education.....	Lower	U	Lower	Lower	Lower	Lower	Lower	Lower	Lower**	Lower**
Stage in family cycle.....	No children at home	Young children	NA	Young children	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
Dependence on farming.....	Partial	NA	Partial	Partial	U	U	Partial	Partial	Partial	Partial
Size of farm.....	U	U	Smaller	NA	U	U	Smaller	Smaller	Smaller	Smaller
Economic status.....	Lower	Lower net income	Lower	Lower	U	U	Lower	Lower	Lower	Lower
Level of living.....	Lower	U	Lower	Lower	Lower	Lower	Lower	Lower	Lower	Lower
Formal social participation.....	Lower	Lower	Lower	Lower	Lower	Lower	Lower (strange)	Lower (strange)	Lower	Lower
Informal social participation.....	Lower	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	Lower	U	NA	NA
Use of other information sources.....	Lower	U	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
Time in community.....	U	U	Shorter	Shorter	Shorter	Shorter	Shorter	Shorter	NA	NA
Tenure.....	U	U	NA	NA	Laborers and tenants	Laborers and tenants	U	U	U	U

Code: U = unrelated, NA = not ascertained or not reported.

*See text footnote 1 for full citation of titles.

**However, Coleman, *op. cit.*, notes that there was "a lack of relation between the degree of participation [in Extension] and the level of education" (p. 214).

4. *High contact*: Those who had the equivalent of a farm or home visit every second month, or more frequently.

The four categories of contact had the following frequencies for operators and homemakers:

Level of contact	Operators (Per cent)	Homemakers (Per cent)
No contact	11.3	32.2
Low contact	17.9	14.8
Medium contact	33.2	23.1
High contact	37.6	29.9
Total	100.0	100.0

The degree of association with selected variables was evaluated by means of the contingency coefficient, C .⁵ In the presentation of the results, the term "low contact" is used to refer to operators or homemakers classified as having "low contact" or "no contact" with Extension.

The null hypothesis was that there is no difference between the attributes of families with low-contact operators or homemakers and the attributes of families with operators or homemakers having medium or high levels of contact.

FINDINGS

The empirical evidence may be summarized briefly, as follows:

Operators with less education than others were found to have fewer contacts with Extension. This is consistent with the findings of other investigators.⁶ However, contrary to the findings of others,⁷ education of homemakers was not related to the level of their Extension contacts.

The lowest level of Extension contacts for the wives was reported by those whose children were all less than fourteen years of age.⁸ Neiderfrank reported a similar finding. It seems reasonable to suppose

that this is due in large part to the heavy home responsibilities carried by mothers of small children.

Size of farm was not significantly related to the level of Extension contacts, although those who owned less land than others had fewer contacts.⁹ This differs from the findings of Neiderfrank *et al.*, Scantland *et al.*, and Coleman, who found operators of smaller farms to have fewer Extension contacts.

As might be expected, operators who were classified as primarily dependent upon nonfarm employment and only secondarily dependent upon farming operations had fewer contacts with Extension than was the case for those who depended upon agriculture as the primary source of their livelihood.¹⁰ The fact that part-time farmers are increasing in numbers, however, raises questions about the defensibility of programs, policies, and methods which apparently favor those who depend primarily upon farming; many of the latter probably have less need for agricultural education services than the former.

Operators having low contact with Extension tended to check prices less frequently, were less likely to carry farm liability insurance, and were also less likely to keep or use farm records or enterprise records.¹¹ In other words, they tended to be poorer businessmen or poorer managers.

With respect to economic status, the data generally conform to findings elsewhere: low-contact operators tended to have fewer assets, lower net worth,¹² less valuable machinery,¹³ fewer farm expenses, and lower gross farm income.

Level of living as reflected by an index based upon the possession of various home conveniences was significantly related to the level of Extension contacts of operators, although not of homemakers. That is, the operators in families with lower levels of living tended to have fewer Extension contacts than others, but their wives did not.

The findings relating to formal social participation agreed generally with previous findings. There was a significantly higher probability that both operators and homemakers having a low frequency of contact with the Extension Service would be less

⁵ $\bar{C} = +.229$, $p < .15$.

¹⁰ The association was low, however, and not significant: $\bar{C} = +.205$, $p < .11$.

¹¹ The association of contact and keeping records was not significant: $\bar{C} = +.306$, $p < .10$.

¹² Association of this item not significant: $\bar{C} = +.231$, $p < .20$.

¹³ Association of this item not significant: $\bar{C} = +.210$, $p < .20$.

⁸ Cf. Sidney Siegel, *Nonparametric Statistics for the Behavioral Sciences* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1956), pp. 196-202; T. C. McCormick, *Elementary Statistics* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1941), pp. 203-208. The correction for broad grouping discussed by McCormick has been applied. The contingency coefficient carries no sign, but the direction of association has been ascertained by inspection. All associations mentioned hereafter are positive, low to moderate in degree, and significant at or above the .05-level of confidence, unless otherwise specified.

⁶ Coleman (*op. cit.*, p. 214), however, notes "a lack of relation between degree of participation [in Extension] and the level of education."

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ Considering the full range of the family cycle, association with the level of Extension contacts was not statistically significant.

active in formal groups, in organizations, and in public affairs in their respective communities; these tendencies were measured directly and also summarized in a social participation index.¹⁴ Operators with low Extension contacts also tended to have a lower level of informal contacts with other families. These data suggest that there is a tendency for those who have a low level of contact with the Extension Service to be somewhat withdrawn and reticent in their social relationships.

There was a significant relationship between the level of operators' contacts with Extension and the frequency with which information sources other than Extension were consulted;¹⁵ that is, operators who reported a low level of Extension contacts were also more likely to have obtained agricultural information from bankers, commercial companies and their fieldmen, or the Soil Conservation Service. Operators who had a low level of Extension contacts were also less likely to have obtained information from farm magazines or other magazines, or from radio or TV, to have read publications from Washington State College or the United States Department of Agriculture, or to acknowledge having relied upon other farmers¹⁶ for information about agricultural practices.

For the homemakers, there was little relationship between the frequency of contact with Extension and the intensity of use of various information sources, including radio or television, commercial company representatives, and their own children.

¹⁴ The index was derived by adding to the attendance score 5 points for being an officer and 5 points for holding a public office. The attendance score was derived by assigning 2 points for each organization regularly attended and 1 point for each organization occasionally attended.

¹⁵ The other studies cited apparently did not investigate this matter.

¹⁶ Association not significant: $\bar{U} = +.224$, $p < .10$.

DISCUSSION

If the null hypothesis of no difference had been confirmed, it would have suggested—at least to the writer—that the approaches now used by the Agricultural Extension Service are satisfactory as a means of reaching those who participate little, if at all, in Extension-sponsored activities or programs. In this case, it might have been argued that what is needed to reach these people is more effort along customary lines. Since the null hypothesis was rejected, however, this comfortable solution seems inadequate.

An important question then arises: Does available information relative to the differential attributes provide any clues which the Extension Service might use in inventing new methods or modifying old ones to communicate effectively with the low-contact operators or homemakers?

The most significant attributes of the low-contact families, in this connection, are the patterns of social participation and the patterns of use of information sources. Since these low-contact families tend to be somewhat socially isolated, and do not participate in as many local social systems as the families where the operators or homemakers have greater contact with Extension, it would appear that local social systems cannot readily be utilized as channels of communication. Furthermore, the fact that the low-contact operators are less likely to obtain information from mass media means that the problem of communicating with them through such channels is extremely difficult.

If low-contact operators and homemakers are to be reached, some change from traditional methods seems indicated. Undoubtedly several approaches need to be tried on an experimental basis.

BOOK REVIEWS

Edited by Walter C. McKain, Jr.

Race and Nationality in American Life. By Oscar Handlin. Boston: Atlantic-Little, Brown, 1957. Pp. xiii + 300. \$4.00.

This book is social history at its best. Using his historical knowledge and perspective, the author begins by exploring the process by which the Negro in American life became the object of prejudice and exploitation. While the journey on which the reader is taken in examining the status of unfree persons in the early history of the colonies is somewhat involved, the effort is rewarding—if for no other reason than that it leads the way to multiple-factor explanations rather than to such single factors as geographic determinism or capitalistic exploitation.

Considerable emphasis is devoted to subtle and often neglected factors involved in the genesis of prejudices toward minority or racial groups in the United States, such as (1) the destruction of family life that accompanied immigration to the new world; (2) the development of a peculiar husband-wife relationship, particularly in the South; (3) the need for social identification growing out of being uprooted and in turn satisfied through "scape-goat" psychology; and (4) the differential character of the South and North with respect to established social order.

Since the truth-seeking urge of early students of race resulted in a human classification system that produced a system of caricatures that came to serve the purpose of those who are driven by fears to seek security through exploitation of others, an appropriate warning to all scientists is the observation, "No safeguard was adequate to detach them [nineteenth-century scientists] from the emotional impulses that also moved their parents and children, their relatives and friends, their servants and masters. . . . Those emotions sprang from a deep uneasiness in the hearts of disturbed men."

The author's analysis of the 1907 Immigration Commission's report (issued in 1910) and of Harry Laughlin's "Analysis of America's Modern Melting Pot" (1922) provide a devastating critique of scientific procedures diverted to the support of assumptions about the quality of certain ethnic groups in the later stream of migrants to the United States.

Despite their biases, scientists are not considered hopeless. "Science, which cre-

ated race as an intellectual concept, also helped destroy it. For it is the strength of science to contain within itself the means of its own redemption. The dedication to truth which animates the scholar's inquiry again and again brings him back to a re-investigation of his evidence." Thus, by building on Mendelian theories, it has been possible to formulate a new concept of race. The consensus of a group of distinguished biologists, psychologists, and social scientists, in a statement prepared for UNESCO and setting forth the new concept of race, is summarized as follows:

Mankind is essentially one, descended from the same common stock. The species is divided into a number of populations, or races, which differ from each other in the frequency of one or more genes which determine the hereditary concentration of physical traits. Those traits are not fixed, but may appear, fluctuate, and disappear in the course of time. It is presently possible to distinguish three such races—the Mongoloid, the Negroid, and the Caucasoid—but no subgroups within them can be meaningfully described in physical terms. National, religious, geographic, linguistic, and cultural groups do not coincide with race, and the cultural and social traits of such groups have no genetic connection with racial traits. There is no evidence of any inborn differences of temperament, personality, character, or intelligence among races.

The author's assessment of ethnic groups in the United States, which he considers to be the meaningful basis for comparing the variety of groups found in this country, shows distinctly positive contributions in a number of important areas. Moreover, as he views the situation, a distinct change in the attitudes of the citizens of this country toward minority groups—Negroes, Catholics, Jews, and other nationalities occurred in the 1930's. "In the past twenty years, our society has experienced a veritable revolution, scarcely noticed by those who participated in it. The experience of Europe, the actual diversity of our people, and the strength of our free institutions provided the instruments for destroying the inequalities of practice and theory that made minorities of some of us." Despite this revolution, it is recognized that segregation and the quota system are still with us, and that these must go if the nation is to play an effective role in the cause of freedom in

the world. The warm welcome as well as the effective manner in which the people of this nation have welcomed refugees reveals the deeper feelings of our people, despite the fact that up to now no important change in basic policy respecting immigration has taken place.

The book concludes with three stimulating ideas: (1) the import of the acceptance by immigrants to this country of the ideology of democracy experienced as a way of life for current efforts at diffusion of democratic ideology; (2) the relevance of the traditional concern of America for liberation of oppressed people to the participation of Jewish people in this country in the establishment of Israel without the renouncement of their loyalty to the United States; and (3) the contribution to the spread of the values of our way of life by immigrants who have returned to their former home in Europe.

FRANK D. ALEXANDER.

Extension Service and Department of
Rural Sociology,
Cornell University.

Village in the Vaucluse. By Laurence Wylie. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1957. Pp. xviii + 345. \$5.50.

"This is an account of life in a French village told in terms of people living today in the commune of Peyranne," a small village in southeastern France, some forty miles from Avignon. A vast amount of data was gathered by the author, who is the chairman of the Romance Language Department of Haverford College, during the year that he, his wife, and two small sons lived there.

The *département* of the Vaucluse was chosen as the site of the study because it is in southern France (and therefore could supplement a study of a village in northern France being made by Bernot and Blancard) and because it is near the middle on most statistical tables ranking the 89 *départements* of France (wealth, proportion of urban and rural population, number of bars per capita, etc.). Peyranne was chosen for study from the villages of the Vaucluse because it was "not dominated by a set of unusual circumstances" and it offered a convenient and strategic place to live. Frankly saying he was there to learn what life was like in a French village, Wylie managed after an initial period of suspicion to gain the cooperation and confidence of the villagers.

Once he has placed Peyranne in time and space, Wylie presents his material in three

main sections: (1) "Growing Up in Peyranne" (about a third of the book), (2) "Adult Problems and Worries" (also a third of the book), and (3) "Adult Recreation and Pleasures" (about a fifth of the book). Following these are a few pages on "Growing Old in Peyranne," and finally an Epilogue—"Peyranne Today."

The author apparently did not approach his study with a carefully worked out research design, complete with hypotheses to be tested. Instead, he was interested in trying "to depict living personalities in the framework of a systematic description of their culture." And this is precisely what he has managed to do. In the course of the three main sections, data are given on all the usual aspects of community life—the economy, houses, the family, formal and informal groups, the church—so that comparisons with other community studies (West's *Plainville, U.S.A.*, for example) often come to mind. But instead of merely presenting patterns abstracted from persons' behavior, Wylie has presented persons following, or not following, patterns. This is a dramatic community study, with a cast of persons who are real and lifelike. Though this approach has its limitations and disadvantages, it does give the reader a real "feel" for village life in all its complexity. The various aspects of Peyranne's culture, then, are interestingly described and are seen as a "whole," in the best anthropological tradition. Technical terms, carefully stated hypotheses, and references to similar studies are almost entirely lacking, and, considering the author's primary aim and his background, perhaps one should not expect otherwise. The study, nevertheless, offers a good many implicit hypotheses and is full of insights which suggest still other hypotheses.

Since nineteen million Frenchmen live in rural communes more or less like Peyranne, such a book can help us to understand many aspects of French life which have been so puzzling.

JAMES S. BROWN.

Department of Rural Sociology,
University of Kentucky.

Medical Service for Rural Areas. By William A. Massie. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1957. Pp. x + 68. \$1.25.

This is the story of a program to improve the health service for a group of communities in rural eastern Tennessee.

The Board of Trustees of the Tennessee State Medical Association realized that organized medicine in the state had a moral

obligation to extend good medical care to all the people of Tennessee. Through the Tennessee Medical Foundation, an organization founded by the Medical Association, an attack was begun on the health and health-facility problem in a number of underprivileged communities.

The basic premise under which this program was undertaken by the Medical Association was (p. vii) "... that there is no source or agency available to local people that is able or better prepared to determine the needs and assist in the establishment of an effective professional service than the State Medical Association. If this responsibility is not assumed by organized medicine, then who can or will offer this kind of help and guidance to the people?" While the entire booklet centers on this stated premise, it is clear from reading of the experiences in Pruden Valley, Wartburg, La Follette, Palmer, Decatur, Tellico Plains, and Oneida that involvement of, and legitimation by, the local people and communities was essential to the successful prosecution and completion of the projects. Varying degrees of involvement and legitimation, and of attendant results, were secured. Too often the Foundation was cast in the role of the promoter, and attempts at community acceptance were cultivated after the fact rather than before.

The communities ranged from those almost totally lacking in social and cultural opportunities, health facilities and services, and stable employment to those enjoying a fair level of living and at least a minimum of health facilities and services. Experiences of the new physicians in their attempts to comprehend and to integrate into the cultural milieu of the communities, and at the same time to educate the local residents to the modern concepts of medicine, makes for interesting reading. Here were the attempts to change the course of events.

In the thirty months of actual operation of the Tennessee Medical Foundation's program, as described in the booklet, there were a number of significant accomplishments. Pruden Valley was helped to secure effective diagnostic and treatment service to replace the inadequate medical service previously available to this community. The people of Wartburg were encouraged to establish a modern diagnostic and treatment clinic offering good medical and dental care rather than to build a new hospital. La Follette was helped to develop a 44-bed Hill-Burton hospital to replace outmoded proprietary institutions. Palmer developed a clinic rather than building a hospital. Decatur obtained a well-qualified

practitioner, the only one in the county. Tellico Plains was aided in planning a modern diagnostic and treatment facility. Oneida was assisted in the organization of the board and of the medical staff of the new 42-bed Hill-Burton hospital.

In summary, the "... Foundation's effort has served to curb costly mistakes, to plan wisely the material facilities to fit long-range needs, to develop the type of service best suited to each community's health requirements and economic resources, to teach the people and the medical profession to work together with dedication toward alleviation of suffering and long-range improvement in health of all the people in each community." This was the direction of the Foundation's program under the basic premise quoted earlier. Here we have had reported the introduction of new cultural factors, more or less superimposed on the several communities. One may inquire: Was the maximum effect accomplished without greater involvement of the local citizens and without greater legitimation of the effort at all stages of this program? This booklet merits attention, especially of those interested in, or actively engaged in, organizational and program-planning activities in the bio-social field.

PAUL J. JEHLIK.

State Experiment Stations Division,
Agricultural Research Service, USDA.

Immigrants and Their Children, 1850-1950.

By E. P. Hutchinson. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1956. Pp. xiv + 391. \$6.50.

The choice of topics in a monograph on immigration must have been a difficult one, for there are many aspects that merit analysis; and there is major need for broad descriptions of the nativity successions of the last century. Hutchinson has limited himself to an intensive analysis of census data on the occupational distribution of the foreign born and the foreign stock. This distribution is considered for specific nationality groups in terms of the relative concentration of the foreign born or the foreign stock in specific occupations. Relative concentration is obtained "... by computing the proportion of persons of foreign stock among all workers of the same sex in the given occupation, then stating this proportion as a percentage of the proportion of persons of that stock among all employed persons of the same sex" (pp. 76-77). It is an index of the occupational preferences and the occupational dispersion of the foreign born and their children who are in the labor force. It is not the occu-

pational composition of the economically active portion of the foreign stock; neither is it the relative share of the foreign stock in the economically active population.

The limitation of the analysis to relative concentration is stressed in this review because of the broad title of the monograph. This should not be taken as a criticism of the study, for rigid analysis of a specific aspect of occupational status and change in the foreign stock has permitted a definitive and almost encyclopedic analysis that will be a source book for all later students of specific immigrant groups or of immigrants in specific occupations.

The first four of the eleven chapters are general: the trend of the foreign stock and its changing composition by birth, parentage, and nativity; the geographic distribution and its concentration or dispersion by states; and the occupational characteristics of the foreign stock. The structure of the following six chapters was dictated by the changing nature of the materials available for analysis. There are analyses of the occupational distribution of the foreign-born in 1870 and 1880, of the foreign stock in 1890, and of the foreign white stock in 1900. The next two chapters consider "Changing Occupational Distribution of the Foreign White Stock: 1910 to 1950" and "Occupational Distribution and Country of Origin of the Foreign White Stock: 1950." There is a concluding chapter on the trend, geographic distribution, and occupational distribution of the foreign stock, from 1850 to 1950.

The appendix reproduces in full the data of a special tabulation of a 3-1/3-per-cent sample from the 1950 census of population on the occupations of white males and females in the experienced civilian labor force, by nativity, parentage, and country of origin, for the United States as a whole.

IRENE B. TAEUBER.

Office of Population Research,
Princeton University.

A Guide to Community Development. By Douglas Ensminger. Fatehpuri, Delhi, India: Coronation Printing Works, 1957. Pp. iv + 205. No price given.

Experiment in Extension: The Gaon Sathi. By Allahabad Agricultural Institute. Bombay, India: Geoffrey Cumberlege, Oxford University Press, 1956. Pp. xv + 240. \$1.85.

These two books bring to light the philosophy, the training program for personnel, and the procedures of the three major rural programs being carried on in India. The first book was written as a training tool for

the Community Development and the National Extension programs. The second book is a text for those engaged in the Allahabad project, which is concerned with 400 villages. Information reaching the United States about these programs has been fragmentary. The enthusiasm of returned travelers has been such as to arouse the curiosity of the stay-at-homes. The books will be welcomed by extension workers and by research people concerned with cultural change.

The programs as described independently have many similarities. All have the same birth year, 1952. All have reference to several decades of experience in India which further excites unsatisfied curiosity. All three programs use Gandhi as a legitimizer. The projects are a fulfillment of the promise to better the conditions of the villages of India. To the reviewer, the three programs are based on ideas of democracy, a belief in the ability of all people to develop themselves if given an opportunity, and the establishment of a learner-centered climate for the educational process. Both books have a strong emotional appeal.

Ensminger's book was written as a training tool for government workers in India and "in other countries whose economics are underdeveloped." Although descriptive, the book is extremely practical in giving suggestions on how to get acquainted, building programs, family planning, teaching methods, developing leaders, evaluation, in-service training, and administration. An example of practical details is the plan for making a flannelgraph. A glossary of Indian words would have been helpful.

The Allahabad project has as the central figure the *Gaon Sathi*, or Village Companion. The book is dedicated to "the man in the field" and to his wife. It is organized as a text, with review questions, photographs, a glossary of terms, and several lists of do's and don'ts. There is an excellent description in the appendix of a pre-selection training course given prospective *Gaon Sathis*.

The content of all the programs includes a broad field—agriculture, health, village cultural practices, the village school, village self-government, food, shelter, recreation, religion, adult literacy, and sanitation. All are considered equally important.

Both books present the latest theories of adult and youth education in a clear style. Both writers are humble and experimental in their approach to the problem. The educational process rests largely with getting

teachers who have the right personality and an attitude of helping others to "release the creative resources of the human spirit for good."

The initial pilot projects have been completed. The Second Five-Year Plan calls for programs in all of the 558,000 villages, by 1961, to reach more than 300 million people. The programs are aimed at getting people to "develop rising expectations for a higher level of living" in villages. The idea is embodied in the first statement of the *Creed of a Gaon Sathi*: "I believe in village life and that it can be rich and wholesome." And a pride in the job is indicated by the last phrase: "I am a Gaon Sathi." The humility of the authors is understandable in the light of the scope of the problem.

RALPH J. RAMSEY.

Department of Rural Sociology,
University of Kentucky.

Bibliography of Researches in Rural Sociology. By Walfred A. Anderson. Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station, 1957. (Multith.) Pp. 186. \$2.00.

This is an indispensable publication for rural sociologists. It brings together research completed by rural sociologists in the United States from the first such efforts early in this century to the end of 1956.

The studies are classified under 46 subject areas, and also by authors. The cross-referencing has been very well done, so that any study that covers more than one major topic is listed under all appropriate categories by reference to the first complete citation. About ten pages are given to background publications (such as the early rural church surveys), rural sociology text books, and the Rural Sociological Society.

This work is "an outgrowth from a seminar conducted by the author for graduate students . . . over the past several years." The present is a second edition supplanting the early unbound mimeographed material. It is planned to issue supplements.

As the author recognizes, no work of this kind can do better than approximate completeness. This reviewer, however, found amazingly few errors in listings or in omissions of titles. Some may consider that the author, or as he would prefer to be called, the "compiler," has been a bit generous in his definition of research in a few instances. In the reviewer's opinion, this generosity is a virtue. Here we have, properly organized, an inventory of almost the total product of our field, including the textbooks which have utilized the research, the dis-

cussions on how to teach the subject, and so on. The result is an invaluable contribution. Aspiring doctoral candidates should bless the compiler for many years. The field is indebted to W. A. Anderson, especially because the publication is priced at less than cost.

EDMUND DE S. BRUNNER.

Columbia University.

The Social Order: An Introduction to Sociology. By Robert Bierstedt. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1957. Pp. xi + 577. \$6.00.

Bierstedt has produced a text refreshingly different from most introductory sociology textbooks. The subject matter of this book is selected with reference to one concern—namely, "it is an inquiry into society itself, upon its structure and its changes, avoiding concerns that are psychological, economic, narrowly political and anthropological in nature," as is stated in the Preface. Furthermore, the author asserts that "Sociology has a scope and a grandeur of its own, and it need not assume in addition the problems of other disciplines." There may be some question in the reader's mind, however, as to the complete avoidance of the above-stated concerns in the work.

The volume is divided into six parts: I, "The Science of Sociology"; II, "The Natural Conditions of Human Society"; III, "Culture"; IV, "Social Organization"; and VI, "Social Change." In this division, Bierstedt, in comparison with authors of other introductory texts, ascribes minor roles to analyses of such topics as social institutions, population and ecology, the process of socialization, and others.

The chapter on the science of sociology is, in the reviewer's opinion, one of the best that has been written on the subject. All of the chapters are well written and readable. However, his effectiveness as a writer is sometimes lessened by occasional quotations directly from other sources. Since the contrasts are so great in style of writing, in many places the author might have made an improvement by rephrasing quoted statements into his own style of writing rather than quoting directly. As is often the case, the author occasionally goes dutifully out of his way to get in quotations from the writings of his former professors. It is also doubtful that the college student will derive a great deal of benefit from an occasional French or German phrase interspersed throughout the book. In spite of these minor handicaps, a large number of well-selected illustrations are neatly and cleverly interwoven in such manner as to

make the work extremely interesting reading for students.

Although Bierstedt states in the preface, "I hope that what I have written here will be construed as an introduction to systematic sociology . . .," the reviewer feels that instructors will find the work more useful at the intermediate rather than at the introductory level. It would not be surprising to find that the book will have a number of adoptions at institutions where students normally enroll in their first sociology course in either their third or fourth year in college. It will also be suitable for supplementary reading in a number of sociology courses. For example, the chapters on "Class and Caste" and "Color and Creed" will serve as excellent readings for students taking a course in race relations.

The subject index is comparatively brief, and in spite of what the reviewer might describe as a few thin spots, it is difficult to find anything but praise for this unusual text. The reviewer feels that Bierstedt has a refreshing approach to the field of sociology and would like to see more sociology books which might approach this one in reader appeal.

R. L. SKRABANEK.

Department of Agricultural Economics
& Sociology,
Texas A. and M. College.

Drinking Patterns in Finnish Lapland. By Sakari Sariola. The Finnish Foundation for Alcohol Studies, Helsinki, 1956. English translation. Pp. 88. Distributor: Almqvist and Wiksell, Stockholm, Sweden. S Kr. 10:—.

The Effects of Distilled and Brewed Beverages. By Martti Takala, Toivo A. Pihkanen, and Touko Markkanen. The Finnish Foundation for Alcohol Studies, Helsinki, 1957. English translation. Pp. 195. Distributor: Almqvist and Wiksell, Stockholm, Sweden. S Kr. 18:—.

Drinking Norms and Drinking Habits. By Erik Allardt. Publication No. 6 of The Finnish Foundation for Alcohol Studies, Uudenmaan Kirjapaino Osakeyhtio, Helsinki, 1957. Pp. 100. No price indicated.

Each of these contributions to the fast-growing literature on alcohol pathology reflects a careful approach to methodology and a broad awareness of other relevant studies. Of greatest interest to the rural sociologist is the volume on Finnish Lapland. Subjects were lumber workers in the extremely rural northern country. Considerable space is devoted to a description

of the environment, the "community," and the way of life which serve as background for the drinking practices studied. The author finds strong positive sanctions for drinking associated with a prevalence of very heavy drinking. In the absence of biochemical, physiological, or psychological data, there is certainly evidence to suggest that the culture supports patterns of drinking which lead to frequent intoxication and, subsequently for some individuals, alcohol addiction.

In the second volume, the relative impact of absolute alcohol ingested in the form of brandy is compared with that ingested as beer. Sociologists will be interested in the application of Bales' interaction process analysis to comparisons of behavior under the influence of alcohol in group situations. A number of physiological, neurological, and psychological tests are described—most of which support the thesis that equal amounts of absolute alcohol ingested under similar circumstances will result in significantly different behavior if taken in the form of distilled, as compared with brewed, beverages.

The third volume compares drinking norms (verbal attitudes) with drinking habits (overt behavior), employing the scale technique developed by Guttman. It represents an attempt to analyze the custom of drinking in terms of component parts, and to study their relative impact on each other. It was found that overt drinking behavior and other aspects of the custom showed a positive correlation with "permissiveness" toward drinking. Both this volume and the study of Finnish Lapland point to the need for further study of cultural sanctions and their relationship to drinking patterns and alcohol pathology.

ROBERT STRAUS.

Medical Center and Department of
Sociology,
University of Kentucky.

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Economic Fictions. By Paul K. Crosser. New York: Philosophical Library, 1957. Pp. xxiii + 322. \$4.75.

Introduction to Statistical Reasoning. By Philip J. McCarthy. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1957. Pp. xiii + 402. \$5.75.

Labor in a Growing Economy. By Melvin W. Reder. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1957. Pp. xii + 534. \$6.50.

- The Liberal Arts College: A Chapter in American Cultural History.* By George J. Schmidt. New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press, 1957. Pp. viii + 310. \$6.00.
- Marriage and the Family: An Integrated Approach for Catholics.* By Alphonse H. Clemens. Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1957. Pp. xii + 356. \$4.50.
- Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1957* (78th annual edition). By U. S. Bureau of the Census, prepared under the direction of Edwin D. Goldfield. Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1957. Pp. xvi + 1045. \$3.50 (buckram).
- A Textbook of Dairy Chemistry: Theoretical* (Vol. I). By Edgar R. Ling. New York: Philosophical Library, 1957. Pp. ix + 227. \$12.00 per set.
- A Textbook of Dairy Chemistry: Practical* (Vol. II). By Edgar R. Ling. New York: Philosophical Library, 1957. Pp. ix + 140. \$12.00 per set.
- A Theory of the Consumption Function.* By Milton Friedman. Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1957. Pp. xvi + 243. \$4.75.

BULLETIN REVIEWS

Edited by Louis J. Ducoff*

School District Reorganization: Policies and Procedures. C. O. Fitzwater. Special Series No. 5, Office of Education, Dept. of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D. C. 321 pp. 1957.

This is an important document for rural sociologists, not alone for the data it contains about the rural school and reorganization, but also from the point of view of the implementation of social change on a grand scale in which human intelligence is put to work to alter the basic structural organization of society to meet the demands of a rapidly changing civilization.

During the past decades, and particularly since 1945, a major concern of educators and public school administrators has been the organization of rural school administrative units that are sufficiently large to foster the efficient administration and supervision of public schools. Likewise, the educators have been concerned with an enriched program for rural areas, making the educational offerings commensurate with those of urban areas. This publication is concerned with recording and evaluating this development and providing guidance for further efforts.

While an attempt has been made by the author to fill in some of the background, supplementary reading in rural educational problems would be requisite to a keener appreciation of the materials presented. Aware of the problems to which school reorganization is addressed, the author, in an admirable way, has filled in and brought up to date much significant material regarding what has transpired in the efforts to solve the problem of obtaining a satisfactory school administrative unit.

The reviewer is impressed with the value of the school as a strategic vehicle through which to study social change. The school's ubiquitous character, its somewhat detached status, its legal implementation and administrative control, and its research valuing leadership conspire to suggest certain advantages which perhaps ought to be exploited more fully.

As a document involving social change, the report makes a distinct contribution to the "engineering" of consent. Educators, aware of the need for school district reorganization and likewise sensitive to the demands of a democratic society in that

change, provide exemplifications of a process which could well deserve further attention from sociologists. Examined from this point of view, the value orientation of the proponents of change is summarized, the broad scope within which they conceive of their problem is developed, and the concern with the minutiae of the social action process is in evidence (e.g., p. 139, check list of 26 steps provided for county committees, together with 12 different forms to be used). Likewise Chapter 9, entitled "Guideposts for Successful Reorganization Programs," becomes a short manual on basic policies in the social action process oriented, of course, to their particular problem.

The Appendix, comprising two-thirds of the book, gives many details of the programs in sixteen states and suggests the variety of "specifics" in the problems confronted, and the variability of adaptation to the differences.

LEONARD M. SIZER.

Department of Agricultural Economics
and Sociology,
West Virginia University.

Practices and Attitudes of Rural White Children and Parents Concerning Money. Dorothy Dickins and Virginia Ferguson. Mississippi Agr. Expt. Sta. Tech. Bull. 43, State College. 44 pp. Apr. 1957.

As indicated by the title, this bulletin will be of interest to those working with the planning and management of family funds. The study was made in five selected counties in the Lower Coastal Plains of Mississippi. Data were collected from interviews with 522 children and with their mothers or fathers.

"Because of the shift within the family unit from a non-monetary to a monetary economy due to industrialization that has taken place in the last 50 years, family practices and attitudes pertaining to money are having a more significant bearing on family relationships than ever before." The data in this bulletin indicate that this shift has affected family planning and spending in these rural areas to a considerable extent.

How money is earned, the child's choice in spending it, feeling of financial security, decision making in buying, saving practices, family insurance plans, and household ac-

*Assisted by Elsie S. Manny.

counts were studied. A significant relationship was found between the father's attitudes toward money and attitudes of the child toward material and nonmaterial things. This relationship was not present between attitudes of the mother and child.

The majority of parents reported a partial plan for spending family income, but more complete planning could improve the socio-economic status of the family. Only 7 per cent reported all items planned before spending. The common purse or joint bank account was used by 55 per cent of the parents. Joint planning by husband and wife was considered the best way, with the children participating frequently in the planning and purchasing of clothes. The majority of the children had some experience with decision making and with buying things both for themselves and as presents for others.

This study indicates that a healthy change is taking place among families in the relationship of husband and wife to marital responsibility in planning and spending as well as in their interest in giving the children experiences in handling money.

SUSANNE THOMPSON.

Department of Home Economics,
Louisiana State University.

Hospitals for Rural People. Elsie S. Manny and Charles E. Rogers. USDA Farmers' Bull. 2110, Washington, D. C. 23 pp. June 1957.

This bulletin supersedes Farmers' Bulletin 1792, *Hospitals for Rural Communities*, and another Farmers' Bulletin on the same general subject published in 1926.

The purpose of this bulletin is "... to help acquaint rural people with recent nationwide progress in making health facilities available, and to broaden understanding of the possibilities for meeting needs in their own communities" (p. 2). The authors approach this purpose first by briefly tracing the changing and expanding nature of rural health needs in our country, and then by proceeding to give examples of how actual communities have met their own needs by obtaining hospitals and health centers. The chief task of the bulletin is the presentation of methods by which rural people may initiate action, procure assistance, and otherwise plan or act in relation to their medical needs. This task is accomplished in a logical, clear, and almost inspiring manner. The cases seem to have been selected to illustrate a great variety of ways in which money can be raised, groups can be organized, and interest can be stimulated in hospital-build-

ing programs. Excellent photographs illustrate the text. Outlines are given for setting up public health centers and prepayment hospital-care programs. A 7-point plan is outlined for the individual who recognizes the need for new health facilities and who is willing to work toward the fulfillment of his dreams. The bulletin ends with a list of state agencies administering the hospital survey and construction program.

One might wish that the bulletin had treated more fully the hazards and difficulties of hospital planning. Among these would be such things as the possibility of creating unbearable loads of bonded indebtedness and the possibility of overcommercialization of health functions. In addition, there might be the real possibility that a few well-meaning but overenthusiastic planners would launch an unrealistically ambitious building project, based not on local health needs or emerging health behavior patterns, but rather upon local civic pride or jealousy, manifested as a desire to have a facility mainly (or simply) because other towns and counties are getting similar facilities. Although these possibilities were indicated in the bulletin, they might have been emphasized by the inclusion of some failure cases, thereby avoiding the slightly Pollyannish tone of the writing.

However, the bulletin should prove a valuable addition to materials on this subject, particularly in the extent to which it could contribute to more extensive and effective popular participation in and understanding of the complex process of providing local hospitals and health centers.

RAYMOND PAYNE.

Department of Sociology & Anthropology,
University of Georgia.

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NEWS NOTES AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

Edited by Marion T. Loftin

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 Paul J. Jehlik, Agricultural Research Service, USDA
 Olaf F. Larson, Cornell University
 Douglas G. Marshall, University of Wisconsin
 Wayne C. Rohrer, University of Maryland
 Walter L. Slocum (liaison, local arrangements), Washington State College

Special Committee to Evaluate Committee Structure of the Society

Irwin T. Sanders, *Chairman*, Associates for International Research, Cambridge, Mass.
 J. Allan Beegle, Michigan State University
 Carl C. Taylor, Ford Foundation

Special Committee on Historical Documents of the Rural Sociological Society

Charles E. Lively, *Chairman*, University of Missouri

REPRESENTATIVES

Representative, Special Advisory Committee for the 1959 Census of Agriculture:

Margaret J. Hagood, Agricultural Marketing Service, USDA

Official Representative on Council of the American Sociological Society:

William H. Sewell, University of Wisconsin

Representative to International Sociological Association:

Howard W. Beers, University of Kentucky

Representative on Council of Census Users for 1960 Censuses of Population and Housing:

Calvin L. Beale, Agricultural Marketing Service, USDA

OFFICERS OF THE OFFICIAL JOURNAL, RURAL SOCIOLOGY

Board of Editors

Homer L. Hitt, *Editor*, Louisiana State University (resigned March 31, 1958)
 J. Allan Beegle, *Editor*, Michigan State University (effective April 1, 1958)
 Robert A. Polson, *Managing Editor*, Cornell University
 C. E. Ramsey, *Associate Managing Editor*, Cornell University
 C. Horace Hamilton, *Associate Editor*, North Carolina State College
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Neal Gross, *Associate Editor*, Harvard University
 Charles P. Loomis, *Associate Editor*, Michigan State University

Departmental Editors

Book Reviews: Walter C. McKain, Jr., University of Connecticut
 Bulletin Reviews: Louis J. Ducoff, Agricultural Marketing Service, USDA
 News Notes and Announcements: Marion T. Loftin, Mississippi State College

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE RURAL SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

Minutes of Executive Committee Meeting, August 30, 1957, University of Maryland, College Park, Maryland. Present were Sanders, Hagood, Hoffsommer, Larson, Lionberger, and Bauder.

The results of the 1957 election were announced.

Hoffsommer presented the following recommendation from the Board of Editors of *Rural Sociology* concerning a proposed change in sponsorship:

The Board of Editors recommends, by unanimous action, that the offer of sponsorship of *Rural Sociology* by Cornell University, as indicated in a letter to the editor August 7, 1957, be accepted for a period not to exceed five years, beginning with the March 1958 issue, and that the Board observe the relationship between income and expenditures under this arrangement and reconsider at any time as might be necessary.

Hagood moved that the Board's recommendation be accepted and that the Executive Committee recommend this action to the Society. The motion was seconded by Larson, and carried. The possibility of obtaining from a foundation a grant to underwrite the cost of transferring *Rural Sociology* from Kentucky to Cornell was discussed, but no official action was taken.

The transfer of \$500 from the Society's treasurer to *Rural Sociology* in exchange for title to the 1957 surplus issues was approved.

Hoffsommer reported the Board of Editors' decision to make the December 1957 issue of *Rural Sociology* the 20-year-index issue.

Incoming President Larson was authorized to appoint a program committee for the 1958 meetings. Action of the secretary-treasurer in advancing \$100 to the University of Maryland to defray local arrangement expenses for the annual meeting was approved.

After some discussion of the possibility of the Society paying the travel expense of the secretary-treasurer to the annual meeting, it was decided to leave the matter to the discretion of the Executive Committee on a year-to-year basis. Although there was general consensus that the Society should pay travel expense of the secretary-treasurer if it became necessary to insure his attendance, the need to do so depends somewhat on the policy of the secretary-treasurer's employer.

A contract with ICA under which ICA will pay the bulk of the membership dues for foreign members who have been to the United States for training in rural sociology was presented. The secretary-treasurer agreed to prepare, for consideration at the next committee meeting, a suitable letter of invitation to send to prospective foreign members. The need for an appropriate membership certificate was also discussed. The responsibility of preparing such a certificate was assigned to Lionberger, incoming secretary-treasurer. Because of the difficulty of conducting negotiations by mail, it was decided to appoint one of the Society's Washington, D. C., members as liaison officer to assist in future negotiations with ICA.

A proposal from the Extension Committee to consider the organization of an extension workshop was approved, and the president was authorized to increase the membership of the Extension Committee. It will be the responsibility of this committee to plan a workshop.

The meeting adjourned at 9:40 a. m.

Minutes of Business Meeting, August 30, 1957, University of Maryland, College Park, Maryland. The meeting was called to order by President Sanders at 4:05 p. m. Dr. Haught, Director of the Maryland Agricultural Experiment Station, welcomed the group to the campus of the University of Maryland.

Robert Hirzel, chairman of the Local Arrangements Committee, announced that registrations at the meetings totaled 144.

The results of the election were announced by the secretary. Ballots were received from 281 members. The following candidates were elected to the indicated offices for the coming year: president-elect, Harold Hoffsommer; vice-president, Samuel W. Blizzard; member of the Executive Committee, Eugene Wilkening; member of the Teaching Committee, Leland Tate; member of the Research Committee, Alvin L. Bertrand; member of the Extension Committee, George M. Beal; member of the

Board of Editors of *Rural Sociology*, Charles P. Loomis.

A financial report of the Society, for the year ending August 10, 1957, was presented by the secretary-treasurer and approved by motion, duly seconded and carried. A copy of the report is included as a part of the minutes of this meeting.

The secretary-treasurer reported on the negotiations concerning a contract with the International Cooperation Association to facilitate the continuation of professional contacts with persons from foreign countries who come to the United States to participate in training programs in the field of rural sociology. A copy of the contract between the Society and ICA, is included in these minutes.

The following amendments to the bylaws previously transmitted to members of the Society were read, and a motion to adopt was made and seconded.

Amend Article I, Section 2, by striking out five dollars (\$5.00) and substituting therefor seven dollars and fifty cents (\$7.50).

Amend Article I, Section 3, by striking out two dollars and seventy-five cents (\$2.75) and substituting therefor three dollars and fifty cents (\$3.50).

Amend Article I, Section 4, by striking out six dollars and fifty cents (\$6.50) and substituting therefor nine dollars (\$9.00).

Amend Article I, Section 6, by striking out seven dollars (\$7.00) and substituting therefor ten dollars (\$10.00).

Amend Article III, Section 3, by striking out three dollars and fifty cents (\$3.50) and substituting therefor six dollars (\$6.00) and by striking out two dollars and fifty cents (\$2.50) and substituting therefor three dollars and twenty-five cents (\$3.25).

It was pointed out that all of the increase in membership dues would be added to the subscriptions to *Rural Sociology*.

Conrad Taeuber moved to amend the amendment to Article I, Section 3, by striking out three dollars and fifty cents (\$3.50) and substituting therefor four dollars (\$4.00), and to amend the amendment to Article III, Section 3, by striking out three dollars and twenty-five cents (\$3.25) and substituting therefor three dollars and seventy-five cents (\$3.75). He explained that this change was necessary because of a postal regulation requiring that special subscription rates to any group must be more than fifty per cent of the regular subscription rate. The new subscription rates will be \$7.00 to nonmembers.

The motion to amend the proposed amendments was seconded and carried.

The motion to adopt the amendments to the bylaws as amended was then passed by a voice vote.

The secretary presented a recommendation from the Board of Editors of *Rural Sociology* and the Executive Committee of the Society that the Society accept Cornell University's offer to sponsor the publication of *Rural Sociology* for a period of not more than five years, with the provision that the Board of Editors review periodically the Journal's financial situation under this arrangement and reconsider at any time as might be necessary. A motion to accept the Cornell offer was seconded and carried. Details of the arrangement are presented in the attached letter.

A. Lee Coleman, managing editor of *Rural Sociology*, reported informally on the present status of the journal (a formal report will be made at the end of the calendar year and will be published in the Journal as usual). He reported the decision of the Board of Editors to publish the 20-year index of *Rural Sociology* as the December issue of the 1957 volume. The backlog of papers will be exhausted with the completion of the 1957 volume. Thus, the prospects for early acceptance and publication of good papers are currently good.

Over-all circulation of the Journal has remained steady. A slight decrease in member subscriptions has been offset by an increase in nonmember subscriptions. Foreign subscriptions have continued to increase. One-third of all subscriptions are overseas subscriptions.

A motion to accept the report of the managing editor was seconded and carried.

Charles Hoffer moved that the Society extend its appreciation to Lee Coleman and his associates at the University of Kentucky for the diligent work they have done in publishing *Rural Sociology*. Motion seconded and carried.

The report of the Auditing Committee, composed of Wade Andrews and William Stacy, was presented by Andrews. The report was accepted by motion, duly seconded, and carried. A copy is included in these minutes.

President Sanders paid tribute to the Program Committee (Charles Hoffer, chairman) for the very excellent program of the 1957 meetings.

The report of the Research Committee was presented by the chairman, Frank Alexander. The complete report is attached.

Frank Alexander presented two recommendations for the Society's consideration:

1. That the Society request next year's Research Committee to consider de-

veloping, in cooperation with the State Experiment Station Division of the U. S. Department of Agriculture, a plan for bringing annually to the attention of the Society the status of federal-supported research, with some additional plan for supplementing this information with data on all other rural sociological research which is being conducted by various institutions and agencies, both public and private.

2. That the Society go on record as approving the desirability of reviewing the research programs in rural sociology in those institutions in which federal grants are made available. Such a review, employing a seminar procedure in which two or three well-qualified sociologists from outside the department worked with a representative of the State Experiment Station Division as review consultants, was carried out by the Rural Sociology Department at Cornell University in April, 1957.

A motion to accept the report of the Research Committee and to adopt Alexander's recommendations was made and seconded. After a brief discussion—in which Olaf Larson explained how the review procedure worked and expressed a favorable reaction to the plan, and C. A. Anderson urged that the Society take advantage of any opportunity to develop more coordination of research—the motion was passed.

Roy Buck, chairman of the Committee on Teaching, reported on the activity of that committee. On motion duly seconded and carried, the report was accepted. A copy is attached to these minutes.

Wayne Rohrer reported the activities of the Committee on Extension. Motion to adopt the report was seconded and carried. The report is included as part of these minutes.

Charles Lively reported that the Joint Committee of the Rural Sociological Society and the American Library Association, of which he was a member, has become inactive, and that the American Library Association has discharged its representatives. Lively, as chairman of the Archives Committee, also reported that a recording of the Taylor banquet at last year's annual meeting had been added to the archives along with papers from a number of the past presidents of the Society.

It was moved, seconded, and carried that the Archives Committee be authorized to spend up to \$25.00 of Society funds in the care of the archives.

The Resolutions Committee—consisting of Earl Bell, Homer Hitt, and Walter McKain—presented the following resolutions:

1. The Rural Sociological Society expresses its deep appreciation to the University of Maryland at large and to the Department of Sociology in particular for providing such comfortable and convenient facilities which have contributed immeasurably to the success of the 1957 annual meeting. In this connection we acknowledge a special debt of gratitude to Robert Hirzel, chairman of the Local Arrangements Committee.
2. The Rural Sociological Society also conveys its appreciation to the Program Committee, under the chairmanship of Charles Hoffer, for its tireless efforts in bringing this stimulating and well-balanced program to fruition.
3. The Rural Sociological Society indeed has been fortunate in having the services of an outstanding group of officers this year and acknowledges its indebtedness to these distinguished leaders. We recognize the sacrifices they have made in taking time from their demanding schedules to look after the affairs of the Society. We would like to single out for particular mention the secretary-treasurer, Ward Bauder, who has served long and faithfully in this key position.
4. The Rural Sociological Society expresses its gratitude to the University of Kentucky for sponsoring the journal, *Rural Sociology*, during the past six years. The Society recognizes the devoted and conscientious services of Lee Coleman who, as managing editor of *Rural Sociology*, has performed his duties in compliance with the highest editorial standards. In addition, the Rural Sociological Society acknowledges its indebtedness to Harold Hoff-sommer for his services as editor of *Rural Sociology* which have been performed in the best scholarly tradition.

Walter T. McKain moved the adoption of these resolutions and also moved that the secretary convey a copy of the resolutions to the appropriate organizations and individuals. The motion seconded and carried.

The meeting adjourned at 5:40 p. m.

Minutes of Executive Committee Meeting, August 31, 1957, University of Maryland, College Park, Maryland. Present were Larson, Hoff-sommer, Lionberger, Sanders, Wilkening, and Bauder.

The problems of transferring *Rural Sociology* were discussed, but no further action was taken.

A sample letter of invitation to prospec-

tive foreign members affected by the ICA contract was presented, and the new secretary-treasurer was authorized to prepare the letter in final form.

President Larson was authorized to continue the Committee on Development of Rural Sociology. M. E. John continues as chairman. The Finance Committee, with Conrad Taeuber as chairman, was also continued and assigned the responsibility of preparing a budget for the next fiscal year.

The need for a copy of the journal in the archives was discussed, and the treasurer was authorized to pay for a subscription to provide copies that would be sent to the University of Missouri for inclusion in the archives.

President Larson was authorized to appoint an associate editor to the Board of Editors to replace Homer Hitt, who has been selected editor. Horace Hamilton was appointed.

The secretary-treasurer was authorized to appropriate funds from the treasury to support the transfer of the journal from Kentucky to Cornell, and to support some of the costs of organizing an Extension Workshop. The secretary-treasurer was also authorized to place up to \$3,000 of the Society's funds in a savings account.

Sanders presented the need for evaluation of the Society's standing committees, and the president was authorized to appoint a committee to study the matter and make recommendations to the Executive Committee. Sanders was appointed chairman of the committee.

Official action was taken to terminate the Library Committee, which in the past had been a joint committee with the American Library Association, but which, according to reports from committee members, had ceased to function and had been discontinued by the American Library Association. The secretary was instructed to inform Charles E. Lively of this action by letter.

The invitation from Washington State College to hold the Society's 1958 annual meeting on the Washington State College campus in Pullman, Washington, was accepted. The dates for the meeting were set for August 23, 24, and 25, and the president was authorized to negotiate with Washington State College on local arrangements. An announcement of the meetings, including joint meetings with the American Sociological Society in Seattle, is to be published in the News Notes section of *Rural Sociology* as early as possible.

Possible locations for the 1959 meeting were discussed briefly, but official action was deferred until later, and the president-

elect was authorized to obtain invitations and follow through on the selection of a suitable meeting place.

The meeting adjourned at 1:45 p. m.

REPORT OF THE AUDITING COMMITTEE

(August 30, 1957)

Having checked all receipts and disbursements, we find the record of the treasurer of the Rural Sociological Society to be correct and in accord with the mimeographed statement dated August 10, 1957.

Respectfully submitted,

W. H. STACY

WADE H. ANDREWS

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON RESEARCH

This report is a brief descriptive statement of the status of federally supported rural sociological research conducted in the agricultural experiment stations of the land-grant colleges and universities. It was initiated in the hope that it would be the beginning of a continuing type of report which future research committees of the Society might consider desirable. Data submitted here necessarily are limited and need to be supplemented by information on all nonfederal-supported research which is being conducted by various institutions and agencies, both public and private. Nonfederal research constitutes a substantial block of the total rural sociological research being carried on.

TABLE 1. FEDERAL-GRANT-SUPPORTED STUDIES IN RURAL SOCIOLOGY, 1956-57

Distribution of studies by type of subject		Number of states having specified numbers of studies on each subject				
Subject	Number	One	Two	Three	Four	One or more
Settlement patterns and locality groups	2	2	.....	.....	.....	2
Community organization and development	6	6	.....	.....	.....	6
Voluntary organizations and leadership (formal and informal) ..	14	8	1	.....	1	10
Institutional groups (family, school, church, and local government) ...	5	5	.....	.....	.....	5
Public service agencies and programs (agricultural and non-agricultural)	10	3	2	1	.....	6
Patterns of communication, decision making, and adoption of farm and home practices.....	32	14	4	2	1	21
Population, migration, and estimates*	29	25	2	.....	.....	27
Special age groups (youth, the aged, etc.)	2	2	.....	.....	.....	2
Mechanization, labor force, tenure, and tenancy.....	21	16	1	1	.....	18
Levels and standards of living (including housing, income, and spending)	34	13	5	1	2	21
Health and health services.....	7	7	.....	.....	.....	7
Social security, welfare, and related activities	4	4	.....	.....	.....	4
Total.....	166	..	..	..	..	..

*Twenty-two states were contributing to regional projects under this type of study.

**Totals not given because they would have no meaning except to show a balance.

The initial stimulus for this committee report was the mimeographed publication, *Federal-Grant Research at State Agricultural Experiment Stations—Rural Life Studies*, July, 1956. The information for 1956-57 which constitutes the major part of the report was obtained from the State Experiment Stations Division, Agricultural Research Service, USDA. Data reported cover 38 states and Puerto Rico in which rural sociological and related research is carried on by rural sociologists and/or persons in related disciplines.

Number and Type of Studies.—The report *Federal-Grant Research at State Agricultural Experiment Stations—Rural Life Studies*, contained a classification which has been used in Table 1 of this report. Of the 166 studies reported in Table 1, 131 carry a primary classification in rural sociology; and the remainder (35 studies) carry a secondary classification in this field. Many of the studies are interdisciplinary in character and in leadership. The latter group of 35 studies carries a partial orientation in rural sociology. They are included irrespective of the discipline in which the leadership may be. With the increasing amount of interdisciplinary research and leadership, the inclusion of these studies is justifiable even though it may make it difficult to make comparisons with the past status of federal-grant-supported rural sociology studies.

Studies in Levels and Standards of Living (including Housing, Income, and Spending) are the most numerous, with 34 in 21 states. This type of study is followed closely by Patterns of Communication, Decision Making, and Adoption of Farm and Home Practices, with 32 studies in 21 states; and by Population, Migration, and Estimates, with 29 studies in 27 states. Studies in Settlement Patterns and Locality Groups and in Special Age Groups (including the Youth and the Aged) are the least numerous, with one study in each of two states for each field.

For the 166 rural sociology and related studies, the total allotment of federal-grant funds for 1956-57 was \$700,400. Total federal and state allotments are conservatively estimated at \$1,120,000. For the 131 projects carrying a primary classification in rural sociology, the federal-grant allotment was \$474,200.

Staffing of Studies.—Table 2 shows the number of professional persons assigned as leaders of studies, by type of study.¹ As

¹ "Leader" and "professional person" or "person" are used interchangeably. The information does not include clerical workers.

TABLE 2. FEDERAL-GRANT-SUPPORTED STUDIES IN RURAL SOCIOLOGY, 1956-57: UNDUPLICATED NUMBER OF PROFESSIONAL PERSONS ASSIGNED TO EACH TYPE OF STUDY

Type of subject	Number of professional persons*
Settlement patterns and locality groups	4
Community organization and development	12
Voluntary organizations and leadership (formal and informal)	20
Institutional groups (family, school, church, and local government)	10
Public service agencies and programs (agricultural and nonagricultural)	16
Patterns of communication, decision making, and adoption of farm and home practices	54
Population, migration, and estimates	50
Special age groups (youth, the aged, etc.)	5
Mechanization, labor force, tenure, and tenancy	37
Levels and standards of living (including housing, income, and spending)	75
Health and health services	12
Social security, welfare, and related activities	7

*Professional persons are unduplicated under each type of study; i.e., persons on more than one study on a given subject in a given state are counted only once for that category.

might be expected, the three types of studies with the highest number of individual projects also have the highest number of professional persons assigned. (See Tables 1 and 2.) Most of the 166 studies have 1 to 3 persons working on them. Only 18 have 4 to 8 persons assigned to them. The average number of persons assigned per study varies from 1.6 for Population, Migration, and Estimates to 2.5 both for Special Age Groups and for Levels and Standards of Living.

Trends.—Table 3 indicates that there has been a significant increase over the 31-year period, 1927 through 1957, in the number

TABLE 3. TRENDS IN FEDERAL-GRANT-SUPPORTED STUDIES IN RURAL SOCIOLOGY, 1927-1957

Year	Number of studies	Federal allotment
1927.....	25	\$ 45,880
1937.....	64	*
1947.....	65	\$126,850
1957.....	**131	†\$474,220

*Not available.

**131 studies with primary classification in rural sociology, 35 with secondary classification in rural sociology, 166 total. For trend comparisons, 131 is the most appropriate figure.

†For the 166 projects, \$700,400.

Source: Annual Reports for 1927, 1937, and 1947, Office of Experiment Stations, USDA; and data for 1957 from State Experiment Stations Division, Agricultural Research Service, USDA (formerly Office of Experiment Stations).

of studies and the amount of federal grants. The number of studies increased by 424 per cent, and federal-grant money increased by 934 per cent. If 166 studies and \$700,400 of federal grants are taken as the figures for 1957, the percentage changes are 564 and 1,427, respectively.

The general content of most of the recent studies reflects in a broad sense the effect of technological change on various social and economic aspects of our rural society, and of the processes resulting from and bringing about such change. The increase in number of studies over the years is a response to the public demand for a better understanding and a better interpretation of the various factors in human relationships that contribute to the solution of rural problems and to the improvement of the welfare and living levels of the rural population.

Respectfully submitted,

FRANK D. ALEXANDER (chairman)

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON TEACHING

The committee attempted no special project this last year. Time was given to thinking through what some of the special problems are which rural sociologists might well consider in the area of teaching.

There may be a tendency to neglect the teaching function in departments heavily oriented to research. And even in departments where teaching is the main activity, it is sometimes difficult to generate interest in evaluation of teaching methods and experimentation with improved procedures.

One of the points overlooked is the public relations role which teaching plays. This is

especially true of the undergraduate courses. In many cases, students schedule only one course in rural sociology. It is from this experience that they get their image of the discipline and its significance.

It is the feeling of the committee that the following points should be considered in an attempt to strengthen the teaching function in rural sociology:

1. A study of objectives and course content for elementary and service courses in rural sociology.
2. A study of testing procedures in elementary and service courses. Special consideration should be given to ways and means of testing for specific objectives.
3. A study of teaching methods as they relate to specific course objectives.

The committee was in agreement that more attention needs to be directed toward the teaching function in the annual meeting. It was also felt that the Society has a responsibility to its members in the way of generating interest in teaching and ascribing to it a position approaching that of research with regard to significance. Several professional societies have established awards for outstanding teaching. It was also felt that the time allotted the Teaching Committee on the annual meeting program might be used more effectively if it were given over to a workshop type of session, in which an exchange of ideas and methods could be encouraged.

Respectfully submitted,

ROY C. BUCK (chairman)

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON EXTENSION

This committee has not been very productive during 1956-57, because our chairman accepted a new administrative assignment during the year. The committee proposes that a workshop on extension work be held in 1958. This proposal has been under discussion for some years.

Details of the workshop plans—location, date, length, those to attend—will be determined by polling all persons who work in extension sociology and related fields. Following the polling, the Executive Committee of the Rural Sociological Society will be consulted concerning arrangements for the workshop.

In addition to the members of the Committee on Extension, George M. Beal (Iowa State College), Gordon J. Cummings (Cornell University), and Dorris Rivers (Mississippi State College) will be included in the planning group.

Respectfully submitted,

GLEN L. TAGGART (chairman)

LETTER FROM CORNELL UNIVERSITY CONCERNING
SPONSORSHIP OF *Rural Sociology*

NEW YORK STATE COLLEGE OF AGRICULTURE
AGRICULTURE EXPERIMENT STATION
CORNELL UNIVERSITY
ITHACA, NEW YORK
W. I. MYERS, DEAN

August 7, 1957

DEPARTMENT OF RURAL SOCIOLOGY
WARREN HALL

Prof. Harold Hoffsommer, Editor
Rural Sociology
Department of Sociology
University of Maryland
College Park, Maryland

Dear Professor Hoffsommer:

The Department of Rural Sociology at Cornell University is prepared to accept responsibility for publication of *Rural Sociology*, official Journal of the Rural Sociological Society, for the five-year period 1958-1962 covering the issues beginning with March 1958 and ending with December 1962.

This offer is subject to acceptance by the Board of Editors of the Journal and by the Rural Sociological Society of the following terms:

- (1) Cornell University will not have any financial commitment or involvement with respect to publication of the Journal; the subsidy will be limited to the time of regularly employed staff members which is devoted to functions of the office of managing editor.
- (2) The Rural Sociological Society, in addition to providing a budget covering all publication costs and all customary cash costs of the managing editor's office, will pay Cornell \$1,000 per year in lieu of part-time secretarial assistance. This amount will be subject to negotiation from year to year.
- (3) The managing editor functions will be handled by a rotating committee of three members of the Department of Rural Sociology staff, selected in view of their interests and their departmental assignments. The person with primary responsibility may be called "managing editor"; the other members could be designated as "associate" or "assistant" managing editors. The managing editor will normally hold office for a single year and then be succeeded by another member of the committee. Prof. Robert A. Polson has consented to serve as managing editor during the

initial year should this proposal be accepted.

- (4) The managing editor will have the privilege, on behalf of the Board of Editors, of contracting with the Cornell University Press for the performance of certain major functions on a professional basis; these include: awarding of the printing contract, maintaining all contacts with the printer, editing all manuscripts except for tables, spot-checking galley and page proof, and other services. This service will be on a cost basis and is estimated at a maximum of \$150 per issue. In order to obtain and continue this service from the Cornell University Press, the Journal is obligated to (a) meet a predetermined time schedule of publication, deviation from which for two issues will be cause for the Press to drop the contract; and (b) pay all bills to the Press on time.
- (5) The managing editors' function will be defined as primarily that of facilitating the physical production of the Journal. To this end, section editors will be responsible for preparing copy in a form ready to be submitted directly to the Cornell University Press. Manuscripts accepted by the Board of Editors will be expected to be in a format and style conforming to that published as Journal policy.
- (6) The intent is that responsibility of Cornell University for publication of the Journal shall terminate with the December 1962 issue.

Much effort has been devoted to getting bids on printing the Journal at a price which the Society can afford with the proposed increase in membership dues and subscription rates. We found we could not get a bid for a journal of the present size and format at a price which we thought would be acceptable. However, on August 2, 1957, the Cornell University Press obtained a firm bid from a highly reputable firm which is near Ithaca, does much of the printing for the University, and is willing to agree to do the job for a five-year period. For 1958, for \$6,500 the firm will print 1600 copies in 4 issues and will address, wrap, and mail (but not pay postage) to regular subscribers. This bid provides for two choices of format and number of pages:

- a) Present format, double column, 88 pages per issue;
- b) Format like the *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 6 by 9 inches in size, single column, 128 pages.

We recommend selection of alternative "b."

A tentative budget for the Journal for 1958 might be as follows:

Printing Journal; addressing, wrapping, and mailing.....	\$ 6,500
Engraving and cuts for Journal.....	120
Cornell University Press for editorial services (maximum)	600
Cornell University for secretarial and clerical services	1,000
Mailing costs—Journal	*325
Reprints (No net cost to Journal)...	
Supplies and equipment.....	*175
Postage—Managing Editor's office...	*100
Postage—other editors	*75
Managing Editor's expenses to annual meeting, one-half cost.....	100
Other travel and communication....	
Purchase of back issues for Society..	*25
Rural Sociological Society for back-issue sales (No net cost to Journal)	
Subscription refunds	*25
Copyright	*16
Binding volumes for Managing Editor and Editor	*7
Miscellaneous	*10
Shipping back issues from Kentucky	?
Total.....	\$ 9,078

Please note that the above budget does not provide an amount for moving back issues from Kentucky to Cornell. This is a matter which needs discussion and perhaps negotiation. We also need to be aware that printing costs have risen annually for more than a decade and may well continue to go up during the 1958-1962 period.

Attention is also called to the possible necessity of providing for the allocation of Society reserve funds to meet any deficits in the cost of publishing the Journal, pending the time when the increase in Journal income from the proposed increased dues and subscription rates takes effect.

To illustrate the time schedule under which we would be required to operate, a journal similar to ours has the following schedule for the March 1958 issue:

MSS to Cornell Press.....	November 20
MSS to printer.....	November 29
Galleys due.....	December 19
Return galleys to Press.....	January 9
Return galleys to printer.....	January 10
Pages due	January 23
Return pages to Press.....	February 3
Return pages to printer.....	February 4
Copies mailed	February 21

*Items carried as given in 1957 budget attached to Lee Coleman's memorandum of March 8, 1957, to Board of Editors and others.

This schedule means that the manuscripts for an issue should be approved by the Board of Editors a minimum of five months in advance of date of publication.

On file in the Department of Rural Sociology at Cornell is a letter from W. I. Myers, Dean of the New York State College of Agriculture, dated April 15, 1957, which approves our Department undertaking responsibility for publishing the Journal under the terms stated above.

Acceptance of these terms by the Journal and the Society by letter from the Editor, addressed to me, will constitute a satisfactory form of understanding for Cornell purposes. We need to have such acceptance early in September.

In conclusion, I may say that the staff of the Cornell Department of Rural Sociology believes it has a professional responsibility to take its turn in publishing the Journal, should the Society desire, in view of the Journal's vital importance as a publication outlet for our field and as a medium of professional communication.

Sincerely yours,

OLAF F. LARSON, Head
Department of Rural Sociology

AGREEMENT BETWEEN INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION ADMINISTRATION AND THE RURAL SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

PIO/T 99-99-043-3-79020

Agreement, made this 5th day of June, 1957, between the International Cooperation Administration, an agency of the Government of the United States with its principal offices in Washington, D. C. (hereinafter referred to as "ICA"), and the Rural Sociological Society, having its principal offices at Iowa State College, Ames, Iowa (hereinafter referred to as the "Contractor").

WHEREAS, ICA requires the aid of qualified American professional associations in the performance of certain functions, namely:

1. To establish, for foreign nationals who have shared in the training sponsored in the United States by ICA or its predecessor agencies, effective and continuing professional follow-up in specific fields of study;
2. To provide such United States technical literature in these special fields as may be relatively unavailable at present in the underdeveloped areas of the world;
3. To stimulate, encourage, and assist in promoting and developing similar professional associations overseas; and

WHEREAS, the Contractor is able and willing to perform these functions,

Now, THEREFORE, it is agreed as follows:

ARTICLE I

Responsibilities of the Contractor

1. For a period of three (3) years from the date hereof, the Contractor shall provide for and offer membership as authorized in its bylaws to foreign nationals certified to it by ICA as having participated or who will participate in training programs in the United States of ICA or its predecessor agencies, and to such other qualified foreign nationals as ICA may certify. This membership shall entitle the holder thereof to receive from the Contractor during the period of this agreement the following:

a. An appropriate and attractive Membership Certificate.

b. The same journals, bulletins, reports, or other professional publications and services as are supplied regular members of the Association.

c. Lists (as are already contained in journals), as frequently as is practical, of such newly published professional literature as may be of special interest, indicating costs and giving instructions as to how these publications may be obtained.

d. Replies to all reasonable inquiries from such members with respect to technical matters pertaining to rural sociology and replies to requests for such other information as may be reasonably related to the objectives of this agreement.

2. The Contractor shall take appropriate steps to stimulate, encourage, and assist in the development overseas of indigenous associations similar in nature and purpose to those of the Contractor's organization. Such steps shall include: (a) supplying sample copies of constitution and bylaws; (b) information relative to organization and program; (c) arrangement for the conduct of conference; (d) ways and means of sharing new knowledge and skills; and (e) ultimately, if feasible, and only with prior written consent of ICA, sending a representative abroad to give counsel in person. In so doing, the Contractor shall coordinate his activities with those of ICA, the United States Operations Missions, and the United States Embassies concerned.

3. The Contractor shall develop and carry out such additional measures to achieve the objectives of this agreement as he shall find appropriate. Where such additional

measures require additional expenditures which substantially increase its costs, the Contractor may request and if granted prior written approval thereof, ICA will provide additional funds under amendments to this Agreement.

4. The Contractor shall report to ICA annually: (a) numbers of such members currently enrolled; (b) countries in which they reside; (c) specific services rendered them; (d) progress made toward the objectives of this program; and (e) suggestions as to ways and means of making the program more effective.

ARTICLE II

Responsibilities of ICA

1. ICA, from time to time for the duration of this agreement, shall certify to the Contractor lists of persons ICA wishes to sponsor as members of the Contractor's Association.

2. ICA shall appoint a representative to cooperate with the Contractor in the implementation of this agreement and in the organization of all phases of the work to be performed by the Contractor.

3. The ICA representative shall be readily available in Washington for consultation and shall give prompt consideration to all proposals submitted by the Contractor.

4. ICA shall review progress of these activities and furnish such advice and direction as it considers appropriate for the successful fulfillment of the objectives of this agreement.

ARTICLE III

Membership Fees

1. Payment for the services and materials furnished under this agreement by the Contractor shall be made as follows:

(a) Each prospective member shall remit with his application for membership, \$1.00 (U.S.) to cover a one-year period, or \$2.00 (U.S.) to cover a period of two years, or \$3.00 (U.S.) to cover a period of three years as a prerequisite of acceptance by the Contractor.

(b) Upon receipt from the Contractor of notice of acceptance by it of the application of such prospective member, ICA will, in accordance with Article IV below, pay to the Contractor the sum of \$6.50 (this being the difference between the amount paid by the foreign technician and customary membership charges made by the Contractor) for a one-year membership, or \$13.00 for a two-year mem-

bership, or \$19.50 for a three-year membership.

2. The total amount to be paid by ICA to the Contractor shall not exceed \$4,621.00. ICA agrees to subsidize 711 membership years of affiliated service to trainees. Such ICA certified memberships may be for one-, two-, or three-year periods as provided in paragraph 1 above, subject to ICA's termination privilege: paragraph K, Appendix A, attached hereto (first sentence).

ARTICLE IV

Payment to the Contractor

1. Payment will be made by ICA to the Contractor quarterly upon submission to the Office of the Controller, International Cooperation Administration, Washington 25, D. C., (1) Voucher Standard Form 1146 in original and three copies; and (2) Supplier's Certificate, ICA Form 280, in duplicate.

2. All vouchers submitted to the Contractor to ICA shall be identified by "Authorization Symbol 99-99-043-3-379020," "Appropriation Symbol 72-1171025," and "Allotment Symbol 704-40-099-05-69-72," unless otherwise instructed in writing by ICA.

ARTICLE V

General Provisions

The provisions of paragraphs (B) through (Q) of the Appendix A attached hereto are incorporated and made a part of this Agreement.

ARTICLE VI

Period of Agreement

1. This agreement shall be effective upon the date of its execution by the last signatory who shall endorse such date in the first paragraph hereof and also below his signature.

2. This agreement shall remain in force for a period of three years from the effective date hereof unless previously terminated in accordance with the provisions of Paragraph K of Appendix A.

INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION ADMINISTRATION
By EDW. E. KUNZE (Signed)
Director, Office of Contract Relations
Date: June 5, 1957

RURAL SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY
By WARD W. BAUDER (Signed)
Title: Secretary-Treasurer
Date: June 3, 1957

APPENDIX A

Technical Service Contract Between ICA and Contractor

Except as otherwise provided in the contract, the following provisions are part of the contract:

A. *Payment to Contractor.* Payment will be made by ICA to the Contractor monthly, or at other agreed upon intervals, upon submission to the Office of the Controller, International Cooperation Administration, Washington 25, D. C., of (1) Voucher Standard Form 1146 in original and three copies; (2) Supplier's Certificate, FOA Form 280, in duplicate; (3) original and one copy of Contractor's invoice indicating the paragraph and subhead of the contract under which reimbursement is to be made, supported when applicable as follows:

- a. For salaries: the employee's name, actual days worked, rate of pay, and amount claimed.
- b. For transportation costs and travel allowances: a statement of the itinerary with attached carrier's receipt. Travel allowance should be shown separately.
- c. For overseas living allowance: receipt or other evidence of payment from the employee involved, showing the period covered.
- d. For other costs, such as equipment, insurance, and miscellaneous out-of-pocket expenses: receipted vendors' invoices, appropriately detailed as to quantity, description, and price.

The invoice shall also indicate: (1) the total estimated dollar cost of services and fees under the contract; (2) the total dollar amount previously received and/or claimed as partial payments, detailed by amounts and dates; (3) the dollar amount invoiced; (4) the total estimated dollar cost of services and fees not yet invoiced. In addition, attached to or endorsed on the invoice, shall be one copy of a Works Progress Certificate signed by the Contractor in the following form:

"The undersigned certifies that the cost of services reimbursable to the Contractor and the amount of fee earned by the Contractor up to the date of this certificate are not less than the total payments received or claimed by the Contractor under the contract (including the payment claimed under the invoice), and that the Contractor has fully complied with the terms and conditions of contract."

B. Books and Records. Contractor shall keep full and complete records and books of account in accordance with general accepted accounting principles covering the financial details applicable to this contract and shall require all subcontractors to maintain similar books and records; ICA, and the Comptroller General of the United States or any of his duly authorized representatives, shall until the expiration of three years after final payment under this contract have access to and the right at all reasonable times to examine and audit such records and books of account (and in addition any or all other attachments, correspondence, memoranda and other records pertaining to this contract) of the Contractor involving transactions relating to this contract.

C. Inspection. Contractor agrees to permit authorized representatives of ICA at all reasonable times to inspect the facilities, activities and work pertinent to the contract, either in the United States or abroad, and to interview personnel engaged in the performance of the contract to the extent deemed necessary by ICA.

D. Assignment. The Contractor shall not assign, transfer, pledge or make other disposition of this contract or any part thereof, or of any rights, claims or obligations of the Contractor hereunder except with the prior written consent of ICA and, then, only in accordance with the Assignment of Claims Act of 1940, as amended (31 U.S.C. 203; 41 U.S.C. 15).

E. Subcontracts. Except as authorized in writing by ICA, the Contractor shall not subcontract any part of the work under this contract. Contractor shall insert in each subcontract, except subcontracts for standard commercial supplies and raw materials, provisions conferring on ICA the rights specified in, or setting forth the subcontractor's warranty, covenant or undertaking as stated in paragraphs B, C, F, G, H, I, M, P, and R of this Appendix A.

F. Covenant against Contingent Fees. The Contractor warrants that no person or selling agency has been employed or retained to solicit or secure this contract upon an agreement or understanding for a commission, percentage, brokerage or contingent fee, excepting bona fide employees or bona fide established commercial or selling agencies maintained by the Contractor for the purpose of securing business. For breach or violation of this warranty, ICA shall have the right to annul this contract without liability, or, in its discretion, to deduct from the contract price or considera-

tion the full amount of such commission, percentage, brokerage or contingent fee.

G. Compliance with Foreign Law. To the extent the Contractor is required to perform services under this contract in a country receiving assistance from ICA, Contractor shall comply with all applicable laws, rules and regulations of such country, including states, municipalities and other governmental units thereof.

H. Officials Not to Benefit. No member of or delegate to Congress or resident commissioner shall be admitted to any share or part of this contract, or to any benefit that may arise therefrom; but this provision shall not be construed to extend to this contract if made with a corporation for its general benefit.

I. Nondiscrimination. In connection with the performance of work under this contract, the Contractor agrees not to discriminate against any employee or applicant for employment because of race, religion, color, or national origin. The aforesaid provision shall include, but not be limited to, the following: employment, upgrading, demotion, or transfer; recruitment or recruitment advertising; layoff or termination; rates of pay, or other forms of compensation; and selection for training, including apprenticeship. The Contractor agrees to post hereafter in conspicuous places, available for employees or applicants for employment, notices to be provided by the contracting officer setting forth the provisions of the nondiscrimination clause.

The Contractor further agrees to insert the foregoing provisions in all subcontracts hereunder, except subcontracts for standard commercial supplies or raw materials.

J. Modification or Amendment. No changes, modifications or amendments shall be made to this contract, except as may be mutually agreed upon in writing by authorized representatives of the parties hereto.

K. Termination. ICA may terminate this contract in whole or in part at any time upon 30 days' written notice to the Contractor. In the event of such termination, the Contractor shall be reimbursed for all expenditures made and obligations incurred in accordance with the provisions of this contract up to the effective date of termination; provided that Contractor shall minimize, to the maximum possible extent, expenditures and obligations after receipt of any such notice and cancel obligations where possible.

L. Definition. The term "ICA" shall mean the International Cooperation Administration of the United States Government

or the Director thereof, or its or his successor or any duly authorized representative or representatives of the agency or Director or such successor.

M. Employment Practices. The Contractor shall, in the performance of its obligations hereunder, comply with all applicable Federal and State laws, rules and regulations which deal with or relate to the employment by the Contractor of the employees necessary for such performance.

N. Disputes. All disputes arising under this contract shall be decided initially by the ICA Controller or, if the dispute involves Contractor's operations in a country receiving ICA assistance but does not involve dollar payments to Contractor, the Director of the U. S. Operations Mission to such country, who shall reduce his decision to writing and mail a copy thereof to the Contractor. Within 30 days after a receipt of this decision, the Contractor may appeal in writing to a Deputy Director of the International Cooperation Administration whose written decision, or that of his designated representative, shall be final; provided that if no such appeal is taken, the decision of the Controller or Mission Director, as the case may be, shall be final and conclusive; and further provided that, anything herein to the contrary notwithstanding, no decision hereunder shall be deemed to foreclose pursuit by Contractor of any claim hereunder before any appropriate court of the United States to the extent provided by law, particularly P. L. 356, 83rd Congress. In connection with any appeal proceeding under this clause, the Contractor shall be afforded an opportunity to be heard and to offer evidence in support of its appeal. Pending final decision of a dispute hereunder, the Contractor shall proceed diligently with the performance of the contract and in accordance with the decision of the Controller or Mission Director, as the case may be.

O. Notice. All notices required under this contract, shall be sufficient only if in writing and sent by telegraph or cable or mail to the address of each of the parties hereto appearing in the first paragraph of this contract, or such other address as either party may specify in writing. Notices hereunder shall be effective when received.

P. Reports and Information. All information gathered under this contract by Contractor and all reports and recommendations hereunder shall be treated as confidential by the Contractor and shall not, without ICA's consent, be made available to any person, party or government other than ICA, except as otherwise expressly provided in the contract.

Q. Indemnification. The Contractor agrees that it shall indemnify, hold and save harmless and defend at its own expense ICA, its officers, agents, servants and employees from and against all suits for libel and all claims, demands, suits and liability of any nature or kind, including costs and expenses, arising out of acts done by the Contractor or its employees, including the use or violation of any copyrighted material or literary property or patented invention, article or appliance, in the performance of this contract, including their use by the United States Government or any department, agency, bureau, or establishment thereof.

R. Personnel. (1) Contractor agrees within 30 days after the execution hereof to furnish to ICA the name and necessary identifying information with respect to the officers (if Contractor is a corporation), or the principals (if Contractor is a partnership), or the individual (if Contractor is a sole trader), and, if requested by ICA, to submit biographical information on any of the individuals now or hereafter employed in the performance of this contract; provided that in respect of personnel to be sent overseas for work on this contract, Contractor shall obtain prior approval from ICA as to security. Contractor further agrees, at the written request of ICA, to terminate the employment on this contract of any individual, or individuals if ICA is of the opinion that, for security or other reasons, such termination is required.

(2) Before personnel are employed for or assigned to work on this contract, the Contractor shall submit to ICA such information regarding past earnings of such personnel as may reasonably be requested by ICA and shall obtain ICA approval of salary and time charges in respect of such personnel.

TREASURER'S REPORT
RURAL SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

August 10, 1957

Balance on hand, August 25, 1956.....\$4,583.54

RECEIPTS

Membership dues 2,349.50

Sale of back issues of *Rural Sociology*..... 288.82

Total Receipts\$7,221.86

EXPENDITURES

3,000 printed, stamped envelopes (Postmaster, Ames, Iowa).....\$ 117.21

2,000 letterheads, 2,000 renewal application cards, and 1,000 membership application cards (Meenachs) 49.15

1,000 programs for 1956 annual meeting (Meenachs) 81.60

Record book..... 2.51

Long-distance phone call..... 3.47

Complimentary tickets for Taylor family, 1956 annual banquet
(Michigan State University) 6.20

Expenses of office of the president, 1956 19.55

1956 back issues of *Rural Sociology*..... 500.00

1956 subscriptions to *Rural Sociology*..... 89.00

1957 subscriptions to *Rural Sociology*..... 1,596.50

1956 dues in International Sociological Association 30.00

1957 dues in International Sociological Association 30.00

Refund for overpayment of dues (Morris S. Greth) 5.00

Advance fund for local arrangements for 1957 meeting (University of
Maryland) 100.00

Total Expenditures.....\$2,630.19

Balance on hand, August 10, 1957.....\$4,591.67

Respectfully submitted,

WARD W. BAUDER

RURAL SOCIOLOGY

CONSTITUTION

OF THE

RURAL SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

as Revised August, 1957

Article I. Name. This organization shall be called the Rural Sociological Society.

Article II. Objects. The objects of this society shall be to promote development of rural sociology, through research, teaching, and extension work.

Article III. Affiliation. This society shall be affiliated with the American Sociological Society.

Article IV. Members. Any person professionally employed in the field of rural sociology, or who is interested in the objects of this society, may become a member upon the vote of the executive committee and the payment of annual dues.

Article V. Officers. The officers of the society shall consist of a president, a president-elect, a vice-president, and a secretary-treasurer, whose duties shall be those usually appertaining to those offices. The president-elect of a given year will automatically become president the following year.

Article VI. Executive Committee. The executive committee shall consist of the officers, the retiring president, and one other member to be elected by the society. The executive committee shall be the governing body of the society, except insofar as the society delegates governmental functions to officers or to other committees independent of or in cooperation with the executive committee.

Article VII. Elections. The president-elect, vice-president, and one other member of the executive committee shall be elected annually by a majority of the members voting. The secretary-treasurer shall be appointed by the other members of the executive committee. A representative of the Rural Sociological Society on the council of the American Sociological Society shall be elected every third year in the same manner as the officers of the society. This representative shall be an active member of the American Sociological Society.

Article VIII. Annual Meeting. The society shall meet annually. The time and place

of meeting shall be determined by the executive committee.

Article IX. Amendments. The constitution may be amended by a two-thirds vote of those present and voting at any annual meeting, provided that written notice of any proposed amendment shall be sent to the secretary by five members of the society not later than two months before the annual meeting, and shall be transmitted by the secretary to the members of the society at least two weeks before the annual meeting. Publication of a proposed amendment in the journal, *Rural Sociology*, at least two weeks before the annual meeting will be an acceptable method of transmitting notice to members of the society.

BYLAWS

Article I. Membership and Dues.

Section 1. The membership of the society shall consist of the following classes: active, student, joint, emeritus, and contributing. Each member shall be eligible to vote and to hold office, and shall be entitled to one subscription to the official journal of the society.

Section 2. An active member shall pay dues of seven dollars and fifty cents (\$7.50) per annum.

Section 3. Undergraduate and graduate students in residence at educational institutions, who have not completed all requirements for the Ph.D. degree and who are sponsored by an active member of the society, may be admitted as student members of the society. A student member shall pay dues of four dollars (\$4.00) per annum.

Section 4. Joint membership in the active category may be taken out by a husband and wife upon payment of annual dues of nine dollars (\$9.00). Both persons shall have the rights and privileges of membership in the society, provided that they shall together be entitled to one subscription to the society's official journal.

Section 5. Any member of the society, when retired by his institution because of having reached retirement age, may apply to become an emeritus member,

provided that he has paid dues for 7 out of 10 years immediately prior to such application. The annual dues of emeritus members shall be the same as for student members.

Section 6. A contributing membership may be taken out by any person otherwise eligible for membership upon payment annually of ten dollars (\$10.00) or more.

Article II. Standing Committees.

Section 1. There shall be three standing committees—research, teaching, and extension. Each of these committees shall be composed of three members, one to be elected each year for a term of three years in the same manner as the executive committee. The senior member of each committee shall act as its chairman. It shall be the duty of each of these committees to make inquiry as to the status and progress of that phase of rural sociology assigned to it, and to make such reports and recommendations to the society as it may see fit.

Section 2. The executive committee and the chairmen of the three standing committees shall constitute a program committee for arranging the program of the annual meeting.

Article III. Publications.

Section 1. The quarterly journal, *Rural Sociology*, shall be the official publication of the society, and its management shall be vested in a board of editors to be elected by the society. The powers of the board of editors include the right to set the rate for journal subscriptions to nonmembers of the society.

Section 2. The board of editors, *Rural Sociology*, shall consist of five elected members, one to be chosen each year for a term of five years in the same manner as the executive committee. The board shall appoint an editor-in-chief and a managing editor. If the editor-in-chief or the managing editor are appointed from among the board members, a vacancy shall be considered to exist in the board.

Section 3. Six dollars (\$6.00) of the dues of each active and contributing member and of each pair of joint members and three dollars and seventy-five cents (\$3.75) of the dues of each student and emeritus member shall be paid to the managing editor for a subscription to *Rural Sociology*.

Section 4. The board of editors of *Rural Sociology* shall submit an annual report of its receipts and expenditures and of its general policies, with a proposed budget for the ensuing year. The board of editors shall not obligate the society for expenditures in excess of its receipts from subscriptions, advertising, and other sources.

Article IV. Elections.

At the beginning of each year the president shall appoint a nominating committee of five members. This committee shall nominate two candidates for each position and report their names to the secretary two months before the annual meeting. Not later than six weeks before the annual meeting, the secretary shall mail to each member a ballot bearing the names of the two nominees for each position, which ballot, to be valid, shall be returned to him not later than one month before the annual meeting in an envelope bearing the signature of the member. An election committee appointed by the president shall then canvass the ballots and shall report to the annual meeting the election of those who have received a majority of the ballots cast. The new officers shall assume office immediately following each annual meeting.

Article V. Vacancies.

The executive committee is empowered to fill any vacancies that may occur in the committees or among the officers of the society or among the board of editors.

Article VI. Amendments.

Amendments to these bylaws may be proposed by the executive committee or by any member of the society and shall be adopted by a majority of those present and voting at any annual meeting, provided that the amendment shall be sent to the secretary by five members of the society not later than two months before the annual meeting, and shall be transmitted by the secretary to the members of the society at least two weeks before their annual meeting. Publication of a proposed amendment in the journal, *Rural Sociology*, at least two weeks before the annual meeting will be an acceptable method of transmitting notice to members of the society.

OBITUARY

J. EDWIN LOSEY (1906-1957)

With the passing of J. Edwin Losey on July 25, 1957, sociology lost an able and competent scholar in the field of rural social life. Ed, as he was known to his colleagues, had devoted most of his professional life to the study of rural society in the Middle West. He was considered, by those who knew his work most intimately, a thorough researcher, ably qualified to describe and analyze data pertaining to rural social life in the central farming belt.

Born in Fargo, Oklahoma, on April 11, 1906, he spent his earlier days on the farm and later lived in Grinnell, Iowa, where he graduated from high school in 1926. He received his B.S. from Iowa State College in 1930 and his M.S. from the same institution in 1936. During the interval from the time he received his B.S. until he was awarded an M.S. degree he worked as a research supervisor on a study of cooperatives in Iowa. His M.S. thesis was on rural social trends in Blackhawk County, Iowa. He did further graduate work at Cornell under Dwight Sanderson, and received the Ph.D. degree in 1940, with a dissertation on "Membership Relations of a Cooperative Purchasing Association."

In 1938, Ed married Roberta Edwards. In the same year he took a position with the Farm Population Division of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, USDA, where he did research on rural society. He was stationed in Milwaukee, Wisconsin; Ames, Iowa; and, beginning in 1942, at Lafayette, Indiana. During World War II one of his tasks was to assess rural attitudes and production trends in the Midwest. In October, 1944, he joined the staff of Purdue University as an extension rural sociologist. Later he assumed responsibility for teaching courses in rural sociology and joined in research on problems of rural life.

Ed Losey was always an active participant in groups concerned with rural socie-

ty. He served as custodian for the American Country Life Association in 1949-50, and as secretary-treasurer for the Indiana Rural Life Council. During 1953-54, he served as a research consultant to the Indiana Study Commission on Inter-Governmental Relations, and in recent years was a member of the Farm Foundation's North Central Rural Sociology Committee. He was also active in local church and civic affairs and freely gave his time in assisting various organizations to work more effectively. He had a way of bringing sociology into everyday life and making it work.

His publications include: *Rural Organizations and Land Utilization* (1936); *Rural Social Organization in Henry County, Indiana* (1951), with Paul Jehlik; *The Agriculture of the Terre Haute Area* (1952); *Farm Accidents in Indiana* (1951), with F. R. Willsey; and numerous articles and extension circulars.

Those who worked most closely with Ed Losey knew him for his keen interest in rural churches and his vast range of knowledge concerning them. Within the last several years he made numerous surveys of rural churches in Indiana, and published posthumously is his last contribution, *The Rural Church Situation in Indiana* (1957). He was also interested in rural leadership, and for several years conducted annual workshops in Rural Leadership at Purdue, which were attended by rural people from throughout the state.

Those who knew Ed professionally, and those residents of Indiana whom Ed came to know intimately through his studies of their way of life and their problems, feel a deep loss of a friend, stricken in the spring of 1957, at the peak of his career, with an incurable malignancy. This took from us a respected co-worker and a vast amount of invaluable knowledge and wisdom.

PHILIP OLSON.

Department of Agricultural Economics,
Purdue University.



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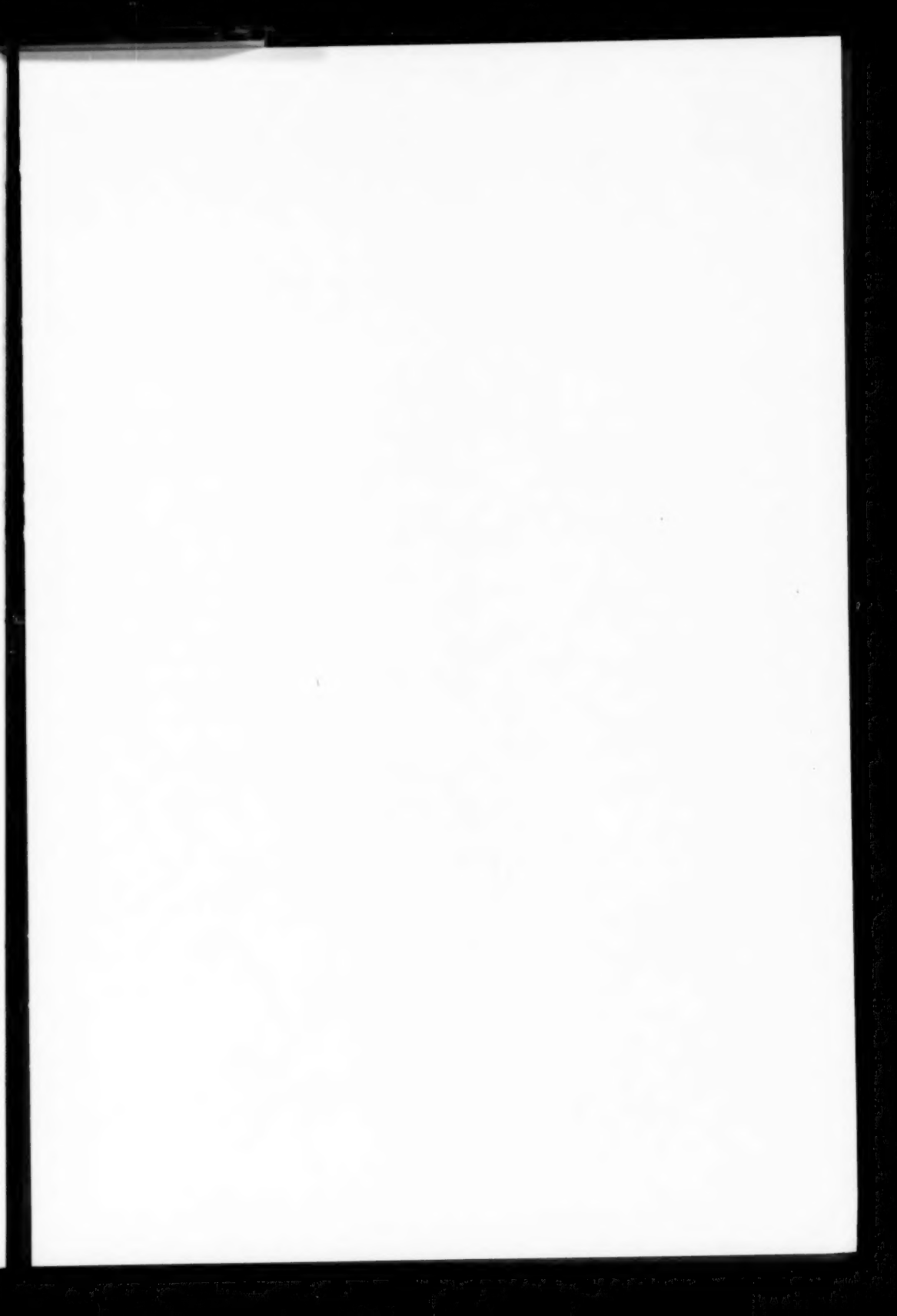
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